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Grammar of  
PALESTINIAN JEWISH  
ARAMAIC

BY

WM. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT.



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Humphrey Milford Publisher to the UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN ENGLAND  
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

## P R E F A C E

THIS introduction to Palestinian Jewish Aramaic presupposes a general knowledge of Hebrew or of some other Semitic language, such as Syriac or Arabic. It is intended primarily to equip students for the reading of the Targums (OJ) and the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim (PTM), and to provide a help to the study of the Aramaic elements contained in the writings of the New Testament.

The Aramaic of the books of Ezra and Daniel is perhaps best learned after a study has been made of one of the dialects just named. Its forms and uses, therefore, are noted in a supplementary way throughout the grammar. At the same time those who choose to begin with Old Testament Aramaic (OTA) may do so with the help of the special paradigms at the end of the book and by concentrating chiefly on the notes marked OTA, which have been placed towards the close of most of the sections into which the grammar is divided.

The pioneer work of Gustaf Dalman is everywhere presupposed and made use of. His grammar of OJ and PTM formulates the now accepted principles of their treatment (see p. 9) and provides an inexhaustible store-house of material for further investigation. In accordance with his conclusions the punctuation of the supralinear MSS. is taken as a standard, although transliterated uniformly into the familiar sublinear system and so, in some particulars, made more precise (see § 2).

Dalman's grammar does not include syntax, so that the notes on syntax are a special feature of this grammar and are based almost entirely on the writer's personal observations. The references

added to the syntactical notes, and in other cases also, are intended to show the range of the evidence found, and to make it easy to test and supplement the conclusions drawn. They are not intended to be used by beginners. The evidence for the syntax of PTM has been taken wholly from the texts of Dalman's *Dialektproben*.

The scantiness of the material available for the study of OTA often makes the formulation of general statements about it difficult and practically inexpedient. The method adopted, therefore, has frequently been that of giving a precise numerical statement of the facts. The paradigm of the verb, also, has been made, more closely than is usual, a reproduction of existing verbal forms. Strack's edition of the texts, in his *Biblical Aramaic Grammar*, is assumed to be referred to, except when otherwise stated. Special note has been made of the evidence of the supralinear MSS. of OTA, of which Strack gives specimens.

References to the Targum of Onkelos are made implicitly to the supralinear editions of Kahle, Merx, and Praetorius, so far as they go (see Literature, p. 8). In the case of Gen. 1-4 and 24, the source is Merx's *Chrestomathy*, for other parts of the Pentateuch, Berliner's *Onkelos* is used. The references to Dalman's *Dialektproben* are made by means of figures referring to the page, paragraph, and line, generally without mention of the title, sometimes with the abbreviation Chrest. prefixed.

Much of the material in most sections of the grammar may be passed over on a first reading. Students working without a teacher are recommended to confine themselves at first to the notes marked with an asterisk. One or two sections which should be read completely are similarly marked. Those who have a fair working knowledge of Hebrew may begin to read the chapters of Genesis contained in Merx's *Chrestomathy* after they have completed § 8 of the *Grammar*. Only texts with a supralinear vocalization should



be used at first. Dalman's interesting *Dialektproben*, if it can be obtained, may be commenced at p. 14, after a few chapters of the Targum have been read. Unfortunately the *Dialektproben* is now out of print and there is no immediate prospect of its re-issue. The publication of further selections from the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud, with an English vocabulary, would be of great assistance to English students of this literature.

The language of the *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, recently edited and translated by A. Cowley (1923), is closely related to the idioms of OJ, PTM, and OTA. The announcement by the editor of his intention to publish a grammar of the dialect of these papyri makes it superfluous to apologize for its exclusion from the scope of the present work. Still it may be said that, on the scale of treatment here attempted, no more than three dialects could properly be included. A more comprehensive work must be preceded by other detailed studies, which do not yet exist.

It is a very pleasant duty to acknowledge the help and encouragement the writer has received from the members of the *Society for Old Testament Study*, both individually and collectively. Without the assurance of their support and interest this grammar would never have been published nor expanded into its present form. Special thanks are due to my friend, the energetic and resourceful secretary, Dr. T. H. Robinson, of Cardiff University College.

I am greatly obliged to the readers of the Clarendon Press for their vigilant attention to every detail and to the Delegates for the cordiality of their acceptance of my work. My Assistant, Mr. E. J. Harris, B.D., has twice read through the proofs and has verified many references and has helped to remove inaccuracies that might otherwise have escaped detection.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

Glasgow, 5th March, 1924.

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# PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

## § 1. INTRODUCTION

DALMAN'S *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic* (Leipzig, 1894) opened a new period in the study of the Aramaic dialects. It separated clearly for the first time the dialects of the Targums, Talmuds, and Midrashim, and it supplied a coherent and correct vocalization of the grammatical forms of the Targum of Onkelos and of the related dialect used in the Palestinian Talmud. The vocalization was based upon Yemenite MSS., which employed supralinear vowel signs. The second edition of Dalman's grammar (1905), along with his dictionary (1901), supplemented and revised his early work, but did not change its fundamental character.

It was now made clear that the Targums of Onkelos (Pentateuch) and Jonathan (Prophets) were written in practically the same Aramaic dialect (OJ), somewhat modified by the influence of the Hebrew originals, and that the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim preserved the remains of another dialect (PTM), closely related to the former. Because of this relationship Dalman supplied the unvocalized texts of PTM with vowels determined for the most part by the analogy of the supralinear tradition of the Targums. In this whole literature he saw, with good reason, the best avenue of approach to the Aramaic speech of Palestine in the time of Christ and a valuable help to the study of the language and thought of the New Testament.

The origin, character, and variations of the supralinear MSS. of

the Targums have been greatly elucidated by the patient and extensive researches of Paul Kahle (published in 1913). His conclusions may be summarized as follows. The oldest and best tradition of the Aramaic of the Targums is contained in MSS. of Babylonian (i.e. Mesopotamian) origin. The Yemenite MSS. represent this tradition modified by the principles of the school of Tiberias in Palestine. The measure of Palestinian influence increased as time went on, so that the older Yemenite MSS. are nearer to the Babylonian tradition than the later. The sublinear vocalization of Berliner's edition of Onkelos goes back ultimately to a MS. which used the supralinear system. The forms of Berliner's edition are not real Aramaic forms, but through them we may reach a supralinear tradition similar to that of the MSS. which employ a supralinear vocalization.

The texts of PTM are to a large extent stories written in a simple popular style. The language, according to Dalman, is that of Galilee in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Part of what is contained in the Midrashim may be dated as late as the sixth century. There are some differences of vocabulary between the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, but no very obvious differences of grammar. The Aramaic of these Targums has a more literary character than the language of the Galilean stories, and is supposed to have been moulded first in Judea. The Targums themselves may not have received their final literary form before the fifth century, but the idiom in which they are written probably goes back at least to the second century and perhaps earlier. Dalman's interpretation of the phraseology of the New Testament in the light of Aramaic usage proceeds on the view that we have in OJ and PTM, respectively, close approximations to the literary and popular forms of the language of Palestine in the time of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See especially Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, Introduction, section viii. The most recent attempt to show the influence of Aramaic upon a NT writer is



§ 2.<sup>1</sup> ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In unvocalized texts (PTM) א, ה, ו, and י are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: מִלָּה = מילה, אִינוּן = אינון, מִקְטֹל = מיקטל, עִגְלָא = עיגלא, אִיתִין = איתין, אִתִּילִיד = איתיליד, הִפָּא or הָפָא = חומא, בְּלִיָּה = כוליה, גִּבְרָא = גוברא, אִתִּילִיד. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (עִגְלָא) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (אִתִּילִיד) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like אִינוּן, מִקְטֹל, &c. In unvocalized texts וו and יי may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. לִילּוּן = לילון), and יי for diphthongal *ai* or for י pronounced as a double consonant, with daghesh (e.g. קִיִּים = קיים). א and ה both represent a final long vowel, especially  $\bar{a}$ . In PTM and OJ א is the more commonly used. In OTA א is preferred in some cases, e.g. to represent the emphatic ending א (§ 8), ה in other cases, e.g. in the feminine termination הִ. In מאן (who?) and עאל (he entered) א denotes the short  $\check{a}$ , in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions מן and על. But מן and על are generally used. Final diphthongal *ai* is often denoted by אי.

2. The punctuation of the MSS. of Babylonian origin published by Kahle is by no means uniform, varying through several stages from a quite simple system to one which is highly complex. The system of the Yemenite MSS. is a variation of the simple Babylonian system, and the resemblances and differences of these two are, principally, what is explained in the following notes.

C. F. Burney's *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922). It gives a most valuable synopsis of the Aramaic idioms and constructions which may be looked for in the Greek of NT.

<sup>1</sup> This section may be omitted when the grammar is being read for the first time. A knowledge of the ordinary Hebrew alphabet is presupposed.

3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for daghesh (a supralinear ׀ or ׀) and raphe (supralinear ׀ or ׀), which, however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS. do not employ daghesh at all (as in Merx, pp. 57 ff.), others regularly use the Palestinian sign (so in Judges and Joshua as edited by Praetorius). The supralinear MSS. of OTA in Strack occasionally exhibit the Babylonian signs for daghesh (Dan. 4. 24, 5. 8, 12, &c.) and raphe (Dan. 5. 7, 12).

4. The supralinear punctuation at first had no sign equivalent to the Palestinian silent shewa. Some Babylonian MSS., however, which use a complex system of punctuation, employ the sign for vocal shewa ambiguously as in the Palestinian system. In Yemenite MSS. the shewa sign usually represents only vocal shewa, although in some few cases it may represent Palestinian silent shewa also.

5. Pathah furtive is seldom represented in either the Babylonian or the Yemenite MSS., but was, presumably, pronounced in the positions indicated by the Palestinian tradition, and so may be introduced into a sublinear transliteration of the supralinear signs. The suffix ם׃ (§ 4) is, however, to be excepted from this treatment, in accordance with the analogy of OTA.

6. The following vowel signs are used in the supralinear system of the simplest type :

Qameṣ . . . . .	◌ֿ	Ḥolem . . . . .	◌ֿ
Pathah and seghol ◌ֿ	◌ֿ	Shureq . . . . .	◌ֿ
Ṣere . . . . .	◌ֿ	Vocal shewa . . . . .	◌ֿ
Ḥireq . . . . .	◌ֿ	(including ḥatephs)	

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels and short vowels. Qameṣ at first had only the sound of  $\bar{a}$  in 'psalm' (approximately), not that of  $\bar{a}$  in 'ball', and ḥolem represented both Palestinian  $\bar{o}$  and Palestinian ḥolem. The later Yemenite MSS., however, use qameṣ for  $\bar{o}$ , so that, at different

periods, both  $\text{בֿל}$  and  $\text{בֿֿל}$  were pronounced as Hebrew  $\text{בֿל}$ . No distinction is made in the representation of pathah and seghol, although, presumably, both sounds were used in actual speech. In transliterating the supralinear pathah into sublinear writing, the analogy of OTA and of Hebrew will determine our choice between sublinear pathah and sublinear seghol.

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathah is used for ḥateph pathah, following  $\text{ס}$  and  $\text{ע}$  and sometimes following  $\text{ה}$  and  $\text{ח}$  (e.g.  $\text{אִמֶּר}$  for  $\text{אִמֶּר}$ ,  $\text{אִעֲבִיד}$  for  $\text{אִעֲבִיד}$ ). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32  $\text{עֲבִדָּה}$ , 5. 5  $\text{שִׁעְתָּה}$ ).

8. Some supralinear MSS. have forms like  $\text{אִירְחִים}$ ,  $\text{אִילָּהָא}$ ,  $\text{אִינָש}$  (= Hebrew  $\text{אִירְחִים}$ ,  $\text{אִלָּהִים}$ ,  $\text{אִנָּש}$ ), instead of forms commencing with  $\text{ס}$  or  $\text{ס}$ . It is possible that this orthography represents an alternative pronunciation of the words in question, but more likely that yodh, with šere, simply represented  $\text{...}$ , just as pathah stood for  $\text{...}$ . Similarly  $\text{גִּיּצְלִי}$  (*Chrest.* 29. 21) was neither a phonetic variant nor a grammatical equivalent of  $\text{גִּיּצְלִי}$  (1 plur. impf. Pael), but was, originally, precisely the same word, differently spelled. This use of yodh (with šere) to denote vocal shewa occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA, and it throws fresh light on the Hebrew forms referred to in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 23 h ( $\text{אִזּוֹר} = \text{אִזּוֹר}$ ).

9. Some supralinear MSS. write  $\text{ʾ}$  instead of  $\text{י}$ , especially at the beginning of words, but also in other cases (e.g. in  $\text{דִּיּוֹרִי} = \text{דִּיּוֹרִי}$ , Deut. 9. 28—Kahle, p. 14). This alternative orthography may also be understood to imply an alternative pronunciation— $\text{y}ʾ$  or  $\text{z}$  (cf. Syriac)—but it should rather be regarded as an alternative way of representing the sound that is usually written as vocal shewa.

10. Ḥateph games is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain words, such as  $\text{קֶרֶם}$ .

11. With the exceptions already noted, the ḥatephs of the sub-



linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the ḥaṭeph̄s were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms ו̇ (and) and ׀ (who, which), which are used before certain consonants followed by vocal shewa, may be taken as proof that these following consonants were pronounced with ḥaṭeph̄ pathah̄. Ḥaṭeph̄s may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ו̇ is the form of the conjunction 'and' before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3. 21, 4. 29, 5. 20, 6. 5, 6. 17), even when that following consonant is ב, מ, or פ (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before ב, מ, and פ not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ו̇, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ ו̇ is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius's edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner's *Onkelos*).

13. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ו̇ or ו̇ (Gen. 1. 10, 1. 17, Judg. 1. 17, 1. 22, Dan. 3. 21, 5. 11, 6. 17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew לְקַטֵּל and וְהָיִי, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with ה and ה in the same way so that, for example, וְהָיִי may perhaps be an alternative for וְהָיִי (cf. Heb. לְהַפִּיר).

In the Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack), however, vocal shewa following an initial consonant is frequently unrepresented in writing, especially in association with particular forms or words, such as the particles ב, כ, ל, and ו. This implies that the absence of the sign of a hurried vowel (vocal shewa) is not a certain proof of its absence in speech, and makes

any conclusion regarding the case of the preceding paragraph uncertain.

14. In OTA the diphthong *ai* causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in בִּיתָהּ, הִיָּתִי, הִיָּתִי). Compare also, perhaps, קִרְמִיתָּ (§ 11, note 12) and מְנוּחֵיכִי (Ps. 116. 7, in the Hebrew Psalter). These analogies may be allowed to determine the sublinear vocalization of OJ and PTM in such words as הִיָּרִין (§ 6), עֲבָרִיתָּ (§ 11, note 7), אִיָּתִי (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יָכִי and יָהּ (§ 13).

### § 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

PTM		OJ		
PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.	
אֲנֵן	אֲנָהּ	(נִהְנָה) אֲנֵהְנָה	אֲנָהּ	1 com.
אֲתֵן	אֲתָּהּ (אֲנָהּ)	אֲתֵן	אֲתָּהּ	2 masc.
—	אֲתָּהּ (אֲנָהּ)	אֲתֵן	אֲתָּהּ	fem.
אֵינוֹן, הֵינוֹן	הֵיאָהּ	אֵנוֹן	הֵיאָהּ	3 masc.
אֵינִין, הֵינִין	הֵיאָהּ	אֵנִין	הֵיאָהּ	fem.

**Accent.** 1\*. In OJ and OTA the pronouns of the 1 person plural are accented on the penultimate syllable. This is one of the few exceptions to the general rule in these dialects that the last syllable of a word is accented.

**Forms.** 2. The shortened forms אֲנָ, נֵן, and תֵּן sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. נָשׁ for אֲנָשׁ and נִהְנָה for אֲנֵהְנָה). They, and תָּ = אֲתָּ, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3\*. אֵינוֹן, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to אֵנִין, &c. (§ 2. 1).

**OTA.** 4. For the forms of OTA see paradigm, p. 92. The last letter of אֲנֵהְנָה is נ three times and once ה. אֲנָהּ is

a Kethibh form, always changed to אֲנִי by Qere, but pointed אֲנִיָּהּ by the supralinear MSS. in Strack. אֲנִי and הֵמָּל occur, as nominatives, each once only.

**Idioms.** 5. The expressions הָהוּא וְכֵרָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and הָהוּא אֶתְתָּא are used by PTM in modesty for אֲנִי (cf. Hebrew עֲבָדְךָ) and in curses or protestations for אֲתָּ. In polite address, for אֲתָּ, OJ uses רַבּוּנִי and רַבּוּנִי and PTM מָרִי, מָרִי, מָרִי and רַבִּי (cf. Hebrew אֲדֹנִי).

6. For 'he himself', &c., see § 4, note 6.

#### § 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

PTM	OJ	OJ, PTM
PLUR.	PLUR.	SING.
אֲנִי	אֲנִי <sup>1</sup>	אֲנִי 1 com.
בִּי	בִּי	בִּי 2 masc.
בִּי	בִּי	בִּי fem.
הוּן, הוּן	הוּן	הוּן 3 masc.
הוּן	הוּן	הוּן fem.

1\*. These suffixes are equivalent to English possessive adjectives and to the genitives of the personal pronouns in other languages. For the possessive pronouns see § 7, note 4.

**Forms.** 2. The suffixes of the table are those joined to the singular stems of nouns ending with a consonant. In slightly different forms they are attached to verbs to express the accusatives of the personal pronouns (§ 36). אֲנִי (2 s. f.) and אֲנִי (3 s. f.), used in the marriage contract printed in Dalman's *Dialektproben*, p. 4 (ll. 4, 5, 6, 8), are older, uncontracted, forms of בִּי and הוּן respectively. See also § 12, note 2, and § 13. For the variations of OJA, see p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> See § 3, note 1.



3. Merx (*Chrest. Targum.*) prints קבֿלֿיָהּ in Gen. 2. 20 for קבֿלֿיָהּ and תְּהוֹתָהּ for תְּהוֹתָהּ in Gen. 2. 21.

**Accus. Cases.** 4\*. The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by יְתִי, &c., (3) by לִי, &c. OJ nearly always follows the Hebrew text in its choice between a verbal suffix and an independent accusative form. In the latter case it regularly employs יְתִי, &c., seldom לִי, &c. For לִיָּהּ and לְהוֹן after particc. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In PTM לִי, &c., are used as accusatives after participles (18. 12, 19. 5, 20. 11, 14, &c.) and sometimes after finite forms of the verb (16. ii. 9, 26. 3, 28. 15). A pronominal object after a verb is usually expressed by a suffix. יְתִי, &c., occur after participles (16. ii. 3, 23. 2), perfects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impff. (22. ii. 5).

In OTA the pronominal object of a verb is generally expressed by means of a suffix. But only the independent forms הֶמוּ (in Ezra), הֶמוֹן (in Daniel) and אֲנִי (Dan. 6. 25) are used for 'them'. יְתִי with a suffix occurs once (Dan. 3. 12, יְתִיהוֹן, לִי, &c., only with participles (Dan. 2. 23, 4. 22, 29, 6. 17, Ezra 5. 2).

**Ethic Dative.** 5. לִי, &c., are also used as 'ethic datives', especially after verbs of motion. Examples: נִפְקָ לִיָּהּ (26. 5), מִרְפָּקָ לִיָּהּ (24. ii. 5).

**Reflex. Pron.** 6\*. In PTM the reflexive pronouns are generally expressed by נִרְמִי, &c., sometimes by נִפְשִׁי, &c. (Dalman, p. 115, § 13). In OJ the pronominal suffixes are used, in agreement with the Hebrew text, נִפְשִׁי, &c., being occasional alternatives. In PTM emphatic 'he himself' is expressed by כָּל נִרְמִיָּהּ, 'this itself' by כָּל נִרְמָא דָּא (דָּא = this, § 5). נִרְמִי means, literally, 'my bone' (for its inflexion see § 12, note 4).

**OTA.** 7. In MT נָא (Baer, Ginsburg) is usual for נָא, but cf. pausal נִשְׁיבִיתָנָא (Dan. 3. 17). כֵּם and הֵם occur only in Ezra, as alternatives to כּוֹן and הוֹן. See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 113.

## § 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

	PTM	PTM	OJ	OJ
	ADJECTIVES.	PRONOUNS.	ADJECTIVES.	PRONOUNS.
this	הָן, הֶהָן, הֵהָן, הִהָן	הֵן, הֶנָּה	הֵהָן	הֵן (הֶהָן)
	הֶהָה	הָה	הֶהָה	הָה
these	הֵלֵן	אֵלֵן, אִילֵן	הֶאֱלֵן	אֵלֵן

### ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.

that	הֶהוּא	הֵךְ, הֶךְךְ	הֶהוּא (הֵיכִי)	הֵיכִי
	הֵי, הֶהִי, הִהִי	הֵךְ	הֶהִי	הֵךְ
those	הֵינֹן, אֵינֹן	—	הֶאֱנֹן	אֵלֶיךָ

**Forms.** 1\*. הֶהוּא and הֶהִי are the forms of the Babylonian MSS. published by Kahle. הֶהוּא and הֶהִי in the supralinear Yemenite MSS. are Hebraisms (Dalman). הֵלֵן (16. ii. 7) is pointed הֵלֵן in Dalman's paradigm (p. 397).

2\*. אֵלֵן, הֵינֹן, and אֵינֹן are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. הֵהָה, הֶהָה, and הֵלֵן occur as alternatives to הֵהָן, &c. (e.g. 15. 6) and are cited by Dalman (p. 111), but are held by him to be incorrect forms (p. 120).

4. PTM has a number of forms such as אֶהֱיֵן and אֶהֱיֵן (28. 24) in which א alternates with ה. It also frequently uses contracted forms (הֵי, הֵלֵן, &c.). הֵי and הֵהָן coalesce with a following הוּא into הֵינֹן and הֵינֹן. ל, כ, ו join with הֵי into לֵי, כֵּי, וֵי (Dalman, p. 112).

**OTA.** 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). אֵנִי for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and אֵלֶּה for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. הֵן 'that' is both masculine (once) and feminine (twice). In OTA the same forms are used, without distinction, as adjectives and pronouns. See also notes 10 and 14.

**Special usages.** 6.  $\text{וְזֶה}$  occurs in PTM as an enclitic particle following interrogative pronouns (Dalman, *Grammar*, pp. 111 and 224). In OJ it is similarly used to translate  $\text{זֶה}$  after  $\text{לָמָּה}$  (Gen. 25.22) and also for  $\text{זֶה}$  associated with a numeral (Gen. 27.36, Judg. 16.15).  $\text{בְּזֶה}$  is sometimes used by OJ as a translation of Hebrew  $\text{כֵּן}$  (Gen. 45.9, Exod. 3.14 f., 5.10, 7.26, Josh. 24.2, Judg. 11.15, 2 Kings 19.20).

7\*.  $\text{זֶה}$  is usually equivalent to  $\text{הַזֶּה}$  (Judg. 6.20, &c.) and seldom occurs otherwise (Gen. 27.33). The pronoun 'that' in OJ is also expressed by  $\text{הוּא}$  (Gen. 2.19, 41.28, 42.14, Exod. 16.23, Amos 7.6), which might, therefore, properly be included in the table.

**Syntax.** 8\*. OJ generally distinguishes between adjective and pronoun forms. Exceptions are: (a)  $\text{זֶה}$ , (b)  $\text{זֶה}$  instead of  $\text{הַזֶּה}$ , after a noun with a pronominal suffix attached, under the influence of the Hebrew text (Exod. 10.1, Josh. 2.20, Judg. 6.14), (c) the phrase  $\text{זֶה הַיּוֹם} = \text{הַיּוֹם}$  'to-day' (cf.  $\text{זֶה הַיּוֹם}$  'this day'), (d)  $\text{כְּהַיּוֹם}$  (Judg. 13.23, 15.7).

9. In PTM  $\text{הוּא}$  generally serves as the pronoun 'that' (16.ii.11 and 13, 18.ii.3) and other singular adjective forms are also freely used as pronouns (15.6, 16.ii.12, 28.24).

On the other hand, pronoun forms are used as adjectives (18.ii.10 and 11— $\text{זֶה}$ , 28.13— $\text{זֶה}$ ).  $\text{זֶה}$ , in particular, occurs more often than  $\text{הַזֶּה}$  as an adjective (16.ii.10, 17.ii.8, 20.21, 24.ii.1).

10\*. In PTM a demonstrative nearly always stands before its associated noun (two exceptions in *Chrest.* 20.12 and 21.15 are both from the same narrative). In OJ the influence of the Hebrew text has established the rule that demonstratives follow the nouns they qualify. Exceptions agree with the order of the Hebrew text (Gen. 2.23, Judg. 16.15, &c.) In OTA a demonstrative adjective generally follows, but may precede, an associated noun (Dan. 2.44).

11. Nouns qualified by a demons. adjective nearly always assume the emphatic form (see § 8, note 3).

**Idioms.** 12. הַיָּיִן is used with proper names in the sense of 'the well-known' or 'the previously-mentioned' (15. ii. 2, 17. ii. 1; similarly 22. ii. 9). הַהוּא is sometimes equivalent to פְּלָנִי 'a certain', e.g. in the phrases הַהוּא יוֹמָא, הַהוּא בְּבֶרֶא (and הַהוּא . . . הַהוּא) express 'this . . . that' or 'one . . . another'.

13. יָת with suffixes of the third person is sometimes used as a demons. adjective or pronoun, like אֵתוּ, &c., in the Mishnah (Dalman, § 17. 8).

14. In OTA before a noun governed by a preposition an anticipative pronominal suffix is used in an emphasizing demonstrative sense (בֵּיהּ זְמַנָּא 'at that very time'). The noun is then in the emphatic form (§ 8). So in PTM אָמַר לִיהּ לְרַבִּין יוֹחָנָן 'he said to this same R. Jochanan' (20. ii. 10).

## § 6. INTERROGATIVES

	PTM	OJ	
who?	מֶן, מַאן	מֶן	
what?	מָה	מָה	
which?	הַיִּידִין	אֵיִידִין	sing. masc.
„	הַיִּידָא, אֵיִידָא	אֵיִידָא	fem.
„	הַיִּילִין, אֵיִילִין	(אֵיִילִין)	plural com.

**Forms.** 1\*. For the spelling מַאן see § 2. 1. אֵיִילִין happens not to occur in OJ. הַיִּידִין, &c., are the unvocalized spellings of הַיִּידִין, &c. (§ 2. 1 and 14).

2. In PTM מֶן הוּא contracts into מֶנִּי and מָה הוּא into מַיִ. In OJ מֶן = מֶיִן (note 4).

**Usages.** 3\*. The meanings of מָה are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! לָמָה (לְמָה) expresses 'why?' and



כַּמָּה (כְּמָה) 'how many?' Questions introduced by לָמָּה so often expect a negative answer that this interrogative acquires the sense of a negative (§ 7, note 7).

4. In OJ מַה יֵּין or מַהִּין renders Hebrew מַהֲיָה (Gen. 27. 20, Judg. 18. 24), but לָמָּה יֵּין is used for לָמַהֲיָה (§ 5, note 6).

**Syntax.** 5. אֵינִין, &c., are both pronouns and adjectives. Their associated nouns may stand in the emphatic form (*Chrest.* 23. 3 and 4, Isai. 66. 1), but not necessarily.

**Interrog. Adverbs.** 6. אַן (OJ) and אַן (PTM) = 'where?', אַן = 'whither?' and אַן מֵן = 'whence?' מֵן (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for אַן מֵן.

**OTA.** 7. Only מֵן and מַה occur in OTA. Most editors, including Baer and Ginsburg, point the former מֵן. In Dan. 3. 33 כַּמָּה (with an adjective) = how!

## § 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

**Forms.** 1\*. In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is אֵ (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds (אֵיִלִּי, &c., note 4) the form is אֵי.

**Idioms.** 2\*. אֵ without an antecedent means 'that which', 'he who', 'those who', &c. אֵ הָהוּא, אֵ הָרִין, אֵ מֵן, and אֵ מַה are also used to express these combinations.

3\*. אֵ before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. אֵ בֵיתִי = 'the people of my house'. In reports of the opinions of the Rabbis, before the name of a Rabbi, it stands for 'the opinion of'.

**Compounds.** 4\*. אֵיִלִּי, אֵיִלְךָ, &c., 'that which is to me', 'that which is to thee', &c., are the equivalents of the possessive pronouns mine, thine, &c., in OJ (cf. Dan. 2. 20). In PTM אֵיִרִי, &c., are more usual. אֵיִרִי may be a phonetic variant of אֵיִלִּי (Barth) or = אֵי + אֵרִי 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).

5.  $\text{מָא} + \text{ךְ} + \text{לְ}$ , with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 2,  $\text{מִדְּלִיָּה}$ ).

6. In PTM  $\text{דִּי}$  is a contraction for  $\text{דִּיהוּא}$  and  $\text{דִּי}$  occurs as a contraction for  $\text{דִּיהִיא}$  (Dalman, p. 98).

**Conjunctive uses.** 7\*.  $\text{ךְ}$  is much used as a conjunction,—of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (= Hebrew  $\text{כִּי}$  'that'). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions ( $\text{כֶּן} =$  after,  $\text{עַד כֶּן} =$  until or whilst).  $\text{כֶּד}$  'when' and  $\text{לְמָא}$  'lest' or 'perhaps' (Ezra 7. 23  $\text{דִּי לְמָא}$ ) are compounds with  $\text{כֶּן}$  and  $\text{לְמָא}$  (§ 6, note 3) respectively.  $\text{כֶּדִּיל}$  is used for 'because' and 'in order that'.

**Relative Adverbs.** 8\*. The relative adverbs—where, whither, and whence—are expressed in PTM by  $\text{הֶן כֶּן}$ ,  $\text{לְהֶן כֶּן}$ , and  $\text{מֶן כֶּן}$  (cf. § 6, note 6) and in OJ generally by  $\text{הֶן . . . דִּי}$ ,  $\text{לְהֶן . . . דִּי}$ , and  $\text{מֶן . . . דִּי}$  (cf. OTA  $\text{הֶן . . . דִּי}$ , Ezra 6. 1).

## § 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

### FEMININE.

$\text{טַבָּא}$

$\text{טַבַּת}$

$\text{טַבְתָּא}$

$\text{טַבְּנִין}$

$\text{טַבְתִּי}$

$\text{טַבְתָּא}$

### MASCULINE.

$\text{טַב}$  singular absolute.

$\text{טַב}$  construct.

$\text{טַבָּא}$  emphatic.

$\text{טַבְּנִין}$  plural absolute.

$\text{טַבִּי}$  construct.

$\text{טַבִּיא}$  emphatic.

**Emphatic state.** 1\*. The emphatic ending  $\bar{a}$  has a demonstrative force equivalent to the Hebrew definite article. The corresponding English expression may, however, be indefinite, e.g. when the noun is abstract (16. ii. 4, 21. 15, 24. ii. 6), or a generic word (Dan. 5. 1). Sometimes the emphatic ending has practically the force of a possessive pronoun (20. 5, where  $\text{שְׁנֵאִיָּה}$

= 'our enemies', 24. ii. 12, where 'the stick' means 'his stick' or 'a stick').

2. In PTM and OJ the emphatic state tends to lose its distinctive definite meaning, as in Syriac, but to a much lesser extent (14. ii. 1, 25. ii. 10, 18. ii. 2, 20. 12, 24. ii. 1, 27. 6, 25. ii. 3 and 9; Gen. 2. 10, Exod. 1. 8, 12. 20, Josh. 2. 2, Judg. 9. 36). In PTM emphatic forms (18. 6, 18. ii. 6, 19. ii. 3, 21. ii. 7, 27. 2) as well as absolute forms (16. ii. 6, 17. ii. 1, 29. 1, 25. ii. 3) are associated with the indefinite word **ܩܪ**, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with **ܩܪ** (Gen. 1. 9, 2. 24, 27. 38, 45, 33. 13, 34. 16, 40. 5, Deut. 24. 5, Josh. 3. 12, 13, 17. 17, Judg. 6. 16, 9. 37) than the absolute is (Gen. 1. 5, 11. 1, Deut. 28. 7, Josh. 9. 2). The MS. evidence sometimes varies and the printed texts even have both constructions in the same verse (Gen. 11. 6, Josh. 17. 14). In OJ a singular indefinite object is generally expressed by the emphatic state (Gen. 2. 8, 4. 1, 4. 17, 20. 9, 21. 8, 28. 2, 29. 2, 33. 17, Judg. 6. 26), rarely by the absolute (Judg. 6. 17). Emphatic forms are said to be preferred in pause (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 96, Lev. 2. 13, Deut. 26. 7).

OTA seems always to use the emphatic form in its distinctive sense.

3\*. There are a few exceptions to the rule that a noun qualified by a demons. adjective stands in the emphatic form (16. ii. 2). The absolute state is employed when the associated noun is accompanied by a numeral and a demons. adjective (28. 13). In **ܐܡܢܐ ܩܪܐ** (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. **ܐܡܢܐ ܩܪܐ**, Deut. 10. 10.

4\*. An attributive adjective regularly assumes an emphatic form when the noun it qualifies stands in the emphatic state (Gen. 1. 16, 10. 21, 27. 15, 29. 2, Deut. 3. 24, 11. 2; *Chrest.* 23. ii. 4; Dan. 3. 26, 6. 27). Cf. **ܫܡܝܐ ܪܒܐ** (1 Sam. 12. 22), but **ܐܪܝܫܝ ܬܒ** (24. ii. 13).

**Absolute state.** 5\*. Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. ii. 3, בֵּית עֲלָם 'the cemetery'). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16.6 ff., 23.4, דֵּי־יִטִּס, פִּילִי). Predicative adjectives are generally put in the absolute state (Dan. 2. 11), even when, in OJ, they translate Hebrew words with a definite article attached (Gen. 2. 11, 42. 6). A predicative adjective in the emphatic state may be considered to be a superlative (15. 8).

**Construct and Genitive.** 6\*. In PTM construct forms, followed by genitives, have only a limited use (17. 13, עֲמוֹנֵי בֵּיתָךְ). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (לְעֵיל, בְּנוֹ, לְסוֹף, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. בַּר נָשׁ (28. 11), בֵּית עֲלָם (25. ii. 3), מִטְמַעֵי שְׁמֶשׁא 'sunset' (22. ii. 5), פְּרוֹם עֲרֹסִי 'my bed-cover' (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) בֵּיתָא דְּחַבִּירִיָּה, עוֹפָא דְּשָׁמַיָּא 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) שְׁמִיָּה דְּאַלְהָא, בֵּיתָה דְּאִמָּה 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) רְמוֹנִין דְּרָהֵב 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases דְּ means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like תִּלְתָּ מְלִין דְּחַבְמָתָא (17. 15) and מְרִי דְּבֵיתָא (*Chrest.* 17. 7, Judg. 19. 22) occur less often.

7\*. In OJ the use of a construct, followed by a genitive, is general, although the constructions of note 6 also occur. Examples: (a) Gen. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (b) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—נְהָלִין דְּמִיִּין.

8. In OTA the idiom of a construct followed by a genitive prevails—except in one group of cases, where the constructions of note 6 (a) and (c) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in com-



bination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples:  $\text{בֵּית גִּנּוּזָּיָה דִּי מַלְכָּא}$  (Ezra 5.17),  $\text{אֲשִׁיָּא דִּי־בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא}$  (Ezra 5.16),  $\text{אֶצְבָּעֵן דִּי יַד־אָנָּשׁ}$  'fingers of a human hand' (Dan. 5.5). Cf. Ezra 4.15, 6.5, 7.12, 7.17, Dan. 2.14, 2.49, 4.26, 5.3. There are comparatively few cases of the use of these constructions as an alternative to a simple construct and genitive (Ezra 5.2, 13, 14, 7.26, Dan. 2.15, 19, 38, 41, 4.12 (= 20), 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 24, 7.4, 6, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10, 28). A considerable proportion of them seem to imply at least a slight emphasis (e.g. Ezra 5.14, 7.26, Dan. 2.38, 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 7.4, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10). 'The den of lions' is both  $\text{גִּבְּרֵי אַרְיוֹתָא}$  (6.8, 13, 25) and  $\text{גִּבְּרֵי אַרְיוֹתָא}$  (6.17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by  $\text{דִּי}$  are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2.44, 3.28f., 4.23, 6.25, 27, Ezra 5.11). Renderings such as 'the name of him who is (really) God' and 'the appearance of that fourth' are sometimes appropriate (Dan. 2.20, 3.25, 3.26).

**Accusative case.** 9\*. In PTM the object noun has generally no distinctive mark.  $\text{לֵּ}$  occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15.11, 16.ii.11, 21.6, 7, 23.8, 27.6) and  $\text{יֵת}$  does so rarely (15.ii.8). In OJ  $\text{יֵת}$  is the regular equivalent of Hebrew  $\text{אֶת}$  and  $\text{לֵּ}$  seldom occurs (in Gen. 3.17  $\text{לֵּ מִיָּמֶר}$  = Hebrew  $\text{לִקּוֹל}$ ; for Gen. 39.15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending  $\bar{a}$  survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g.  $\text{תַּחְתָּא}$  'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA  $\text{לֵּ}$  is not infrequently associated with a definite accusative. Possibly it has a slight demonstrative or emphasizing effect.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is prefixed to expressions for the true God (Dan. 2.19, 4.31, 34, 5.23) and the false gods (3.18, 5.4, 23; cf. 2.34), to words and phrases denoting the rulers (3.2, 6.2) and wise men of Babylon (2.12, 14, 24; 5.7), to the

**Inflexional endings.** 11\*. The feminine singular ending יָא is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence רִיקְנִיָּא (Gen. 1. 2) and פִּלְנִיָּא. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and *ʿwān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) חִילָּו, דִּירָּו, בִּירָּו, לִילָּו, (b) אֶתָּו, אֶחָּו—from אֶת, sign, and אֶחָּת, sister. Cf. מֶאָו = מֵאָו and סֶאָו = סֵאָו. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12\*. The plurals of אַב, אַם, and שׁוּם are אַבָּהוּ, אַמָּהוּ, and שְׁמָהוּ, respectively.

13\*. The termination יָ.. is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: יִמְיָ (Gen. 1. 10), חַיָּ (Gen. 2. 7), חַיָּ (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like כּוּתָּא (Chrest. 24. ii. 1), מִצְרָא (Exod. 12. 30), חֶתָּא (Josh. 1. 4), and פִּשְׁרָא (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεθσημανῆ = גֶּת שֶׁמֶנִּי = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like כְּפָרְנִין (Num. 32. 4), from כְּפָר, village, and בְּנֵתִין (16. ii. 14) are examples of double plurals. For *ān* as a plural ending see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 450 f.

**Duals.** 15\*. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are תְּרִין, (‘two’), and מֵאָתִין (200). But the ending יָ.. in words such as עֵינִין may also be a dual ending (OTA). In OTA (besides תְּרִין, תְּרִיתִין, and מֵאָתִין) יָדִין, רִגְלִין, קַרְנִין, and שְׁנִין occur.

## § 9\*. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS (declensions)

The following classification is made with a view to a statement of the rules for nominal inflexion, as given in the next paragraph. Six classes, or declensions, are distinguished.

names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (2. 49, 3. 13, 22, 30; cf. 3. 27 and 3. 28) and to the name Daniel, when standing as an object by itself (2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of לְ introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 2, 22 and 23. In Ezra very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In Ezra 6. 7 לעבִירָת may be regarded as a textual error.

**A nouns.** Nouns originally disyllabic and having two short vowels are very slightly distinguished in Aramaic from nouns originally monosyllabic and ending in two consonants. The two groups are here joined in the A class of nouns, which is further subdivided into three sub-classes according as the characteristic vowel (used in the inflected forms) is *ā*, *ī*, or *ū* (OTA *ō*). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

<i>ū</i> class.	<i>ī</i> class.	<i>ā</i> class.
	כְּתָר	דְּהַב originally disyllabic.
	גְּדָר	נְפִיש originally monosyllabic.
קְשׁוּט	רְחִיש	לְחִים
בּוֹסֶם	עֵיגֶל	עֶבֶד
	תְּכֵן	

In the *ū* class absolute forms like רְגִז (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), בְּסֶם (Exod. 30. 23), and כְּתָל (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give כְּתָל for the כְּתָל of MT.

Words of the *ā* class like לְחִים are בְּעִיל, טַעִים, חֲקִיל, מְלִיף, סְעִיר, and רַעִים (OTA בְּעֵל, טַעֶם, צָלֶם, and לָחֶם, with עֶבֶד in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

Some words have more than one absolute form (מְלָף, חֲקֵל, &c.). In OTA the uses of טַעֶם and טַעִם, צָלֶם and צָלֵם are perhaps differentiated by MT (Strack, § 8 c.).

יִירָה (Num. 5. 22) and יִיתָם (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from יִרָה and יִתָּם (§ 2, notes 8 and 9). The former belongs to the *ī* sub-class and the latter to the *ā* sub-class.

**B nouns.** Disyllabic nouns having *ā* in the final syllable and an unchangeable long vowel, or a shut syllable, in the penult, together with all participles (whose final vowel is *ṣere* or *pathah*) follow

a distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples : אֶלֶם, אַרְבַּע, אֶמֶר, סָהִיר. A small number of monosyllables including יָד, דָּם, וֶן, חֵד, בֵּר (son), and שׁוֹם (יָשָׁם OTA) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

**C nouns.** Monosyllables from stems ע"ע have absolute forms like עֵם, אֵם, and פֹּל, in which the vowels  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  are frequently represented by י and ו respectively (e.g. נִשִּׁית, פֹּם). Dalman gives נִיר (arrow) and גִּיב (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from ע"ע stems follow the inflexion of this class (e.g. פֹּם, עֵז). In OTA the MSS. of MT read פֶּם (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have פֹּם, in accordance with the analogy of דֵּב, גִּיב, &c.

**D nouns.** Words which remain unchanged when terminations are added to the stem are principally disyllables with a long vowel in the final syllable (e.g. אֶנְשֵׁ, נְשָׁלֵם, גִּבֹּר, עֵוִיר), and monosyllables like חֹר, יוֹם, טוֹר, and דֵּין. The unchangeable  $\bar{a}$  in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew  $\bar{o}$  (נְשָׁלוֹם, &c.).

**E nouns.** It is convenient to make nouns from stems final yodh or final waw a separate group. Words like טָלִי are chiefly substantives and those like סָנִי (שָׁנָא OTA, אָתָה) are participle forms (see § 30). Probably the orthography הָיִי (Gen. 12. 11) is equivalent to הָיִי (§ 2. 8).

**F nouns.** In this class are included all nouns with the terminations  $\bar{a}i$  (= Hebrew  $\bar{i}$ ) or  $\bar{e}$  added to a trilateral stem. Examples : קִרְמִי (or קִרְמָאִי, § 2. 1), רִבְעִי, תִּמְנִי. The long vowel of OTA (פִּשְׁדִּי, רִבְעִי, קִרְמִי) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1. 13, 19).



## § 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מְלֻכִּיָּא	מְלֻכֵּי	מְלֻכִּין	מְלֻכָּא	מְלֻךְ	מְלֻךְ	A
בְּעֻלִּיָּא	בְּעֻלֵּי	בְּעֻלִּין	בְּעֻלָּא	בְּעֻל	בְּעֻל	
נְדָרִיָּא	נְדָרֵי	נְדָרִין	נְדָרָא	נְדָר	נְדָר	
נְהָרִיָּא	נְהָרֵי	נְהָרִין	נְהָרָא	נְהָר	נְהָר	
לְבָבִיָּא	לְבָבֵי	לְבָבִין	לְבָבָא	לְבָב	לְבָב	
עֲלָמִיָּא	עֲלָמֵי	עֲלָמִין	עֲלָמָא	עֲלָם	עֲלָם	B
יְדִיָּא	יְדֵי	יְדִין	יְדָא	יָד	יָד	
עֲזִיָּא	עֲזֵי	עֲזִין	עֲזָא	עֶז	עֶז	C
גְּבָרִיָּא	גְּבָרֵי	גְּבָרִין	גְּבָרָא	גְּבָר	גְּבָר	D
טְלִיָּא	טְלֵי	טְלִין <sup>1</sup>	טְלִיָּא	טְלִי	טְלִי	E
	טְלִי	טְלִין				
סְנִיָּא	סְנֵי	סְנִין <sup>1</sup>	סְנִיָּא	סְנִי	סְנִי	
		סְנִין				
חֲזִיָּא	חֲזֵי	חֲזִין	חֲזָא	חֲזִי	חֲזִי	
עֲבָרִיָּא		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרָא		עֲבָרִי	F
עֲבָרִי		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרָא			
פּוֹרְסֻתָּא	פּוֹרְסוֹת	פּוֹרְסוֹן	פּוֹרְסִיָּא	פּוֹרְסִי	פּוֹרְסִי	

<sup>1</sup> The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the *ā* and the ending may be pronounced as *ain*.

**A nouns.** 1\*. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are  $\tilde{a}$ ,  $\tilde{i}$ , and  $\tilde{u}$  (OTA  $\tilde{o}$ ). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal ( $a$ ) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (מַלְכֵּי), ( $b$ ) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (לְבָבַי, לְבָבֶיךָ). All the examples of the table above are treated according to this rule, although the Yemenite MSS. with supralinear punctuation do not indicate vocal shewa, except after a medial guttural, and even then not consistently (e.g. נִהְרָא, Gen. 2. 13, but נִהְרָא, Josh. 1. 4).

2. Under the influence of medial  $p$ ,  $b$ , and  $m$  (labials)  $\tilde{u}$  is often substituted for  $\tilde{a}$  and  $\tilde{i}$  in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: גַּפְנָא, גַּבְרָא, רַמְשָׁא, רַבְשָׁא. The absolute form גִּפֶּן, for גַּפֶּן, may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem *gufn*. In OTA the plural forms of גַּבְרָא are always גַּבְרֵי, &c.

3. The vowel  $\tilde{i}$  is also frequently substituted for an original  $\tilde{a}$ . Examples: בַּסְרָא, דְּבָרָא, מַטְרָא, שְׂמִשָּׁא, דְּבָחָא; OTA זַמְנָא, בַּשָּׂרָא, וְזַמְנָא, שְׂמִשָּׁא, דְּבָחִין, נִשְׂרִין. The absolute form דִּיבַח (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like גִּפֶּן. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of רִגְלִי is  $\tilde{i}$  in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle; cf. *Chrest.* 15. 9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give  $\tilde{a}$  (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

4. In the  $\tilde{i}$  sub-class, nouns whose initial radical is a guttural generally retain hireq in the inflected forms. חֶלְמָא from חֶלֶם (dream), in the MT of Daniel and in some OJ MSS., may be due to Hebrew influence (cf. עֵינִי, &c.). Hireq and seghol also interchange in the OTA group גִּשְׁמָהוֹן, גִּשְׁמָה, גִּשְׁמִיָּה.

5. In the  $\tilde{u}$  sub-class, when hōlem occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent  $\tilde{o}$  (§ 2. 1). Examples: אֹרְחָא Gen. 38. 16, קֹזְבַעִין Exod. 28. 40, עֹרְבָא Lev.

11. 15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of *ǝ*-stems in OTA (Dan. 2. 37, 4. 12, 6. 20) and one of an *ǣ*-stem (בְּתֻלָּא Ezra 5. 8). Similarly the feminine הַכְּמָא is written הַכְּמָא in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4. 34 and 5. 23 the supralinear punctuation is אֲרָחָה, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and אֲרָחָה or אֲרָחָה. In OJ inflected forms like טְעִינִי (Josh. 2. 6) for טַעֲנִי sometimes occur.

6\*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בֵּית and עֵין, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בֵּית (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עֵין and inflected stems like עֵינִין, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute *ē* for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בְּתִין is the plural of בֵּית. חֵיל is used as an absolute form (Exod. 32. 12).

**B nouns.** 7\*. The final stem vowel of nouns of the B class becomes vocal shewa when terminations are added to the stem. For some apparent exceptions see § 21, note 6.

**C nouns.** 8\*. In nouns of the C class the final radical is doubled before inflexional endings and the stem vowel is normally *ǣ* or *ǝ* or *ǣ*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עָמָא, אָמָא, גָּמָא). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence בָּרָא from בַּר (country)). Some nouns put *ǝ* for *ǣ* in the inflected forms (פַּת, פְּתָא). In OTA אֲשָׁא, from אֲשָׁ, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ אֲשָׁא (fem. absolute) is also used.

9\*. In OJ, although the stem vowel of the word כָּל with pronominal suffixes (§ 12, note 6) is always *ǣ*, the emphatic form is regularly כּוּלָּא (Josh. 11. 19), pointed in Berliner's *Onkelos* sometimes with daghesh (Exod. 29. 24, Lev. 8. 27) and sometimes without (Gen. 6. 19, 20, 16. 12, Lev. 1. 9). In Lev. 8. 27 Berliner prints כּוּלָּא. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have כָּלָא (five

times), and the supralinear MSS. agree (Dan. 4. 25). Hōlem in this and similar words denotes a short vowel (§ 2. 1). The reading חֹמָה (= חָמָה) in Gen. 8. 22 (Dalman, p. 145) is an alternative to חָמָה (cf. Berliner).

10\*. In the later Yemenite MSS. of OJ Hebrew פֿל- is represented by פֿל and Hebrew פֿל by פֿל. In Gen. 1-2 (Merx), Josh. 1-2, and Judg. 1-2 (Praetorius) the only exceptions to this rule are in Gen. 1. 30 and Judg. 2. 15. In OTA, MT has both פֿל- and פֿל, generally the former. Strack's supralinear MSS. (except G, once) either insert no vowel or read פֿל.

11. Plurals of the form עֲמִמִּין occur in OJ, PTM, and OTA (cf. § 35, note 4).

12. Erroneous dissimilation of the doubled consonant of the stem takes place in חֲנִינִין (Exod. 32. 19), from חִי (cf. § 26, note 9). The form אֲנַפִּין (Dan. 2. 46) is also a dissimilated form.

**D nouns.** 13\*. In this class the absolute form and the inflected stem are identical. The inflected forms of the word שְׁלִים (Gen. 6. 9) seem, however, to be taken from a stem of the A class (שְׁלִמִין, &c.).

**E nouns.** 14\*. When a termination is added to words of the E class the stem of words like טָלִי is either like טָלִי or an A stem, with yodh as the third radical, and the inflected stem of words like סָנִי is either like סָנִי or a B stem (see particulars in table above). In forms like סָנִיָּה and מִשְׁתִּיָּה, from מִשְׁתִּי, the shewa following the middle radical is vocal (§ 30, note 3). In טָלִיָּה it may be treated as silent, on the analogy of the originally monosyllabic A stems.

15\*. טָלִין is contracted from טָלִיִּין and סָנִין from סָנִיִּין. Adjectives of the form מָלִי have contracted plurals of the form מָלִין (Deut. 6. 11). The only case of such an adjective in OTA has an uncontracted plural (שְׂרִיִּין, Dan. 3. 25).

16. פִּירִין (Hebrew פִּרִּי) is used in the plural only. For plurals in



*āwān* see note 21. Dalman (p. 192) regards the supralinear punctuation of absolute plurals like גִּרְיִין as incorrect.

17\*. When E nouns employ an A stem (as in טְלִיא) the vowel of the stem is usually *ā*, but sometimes *ī* or *ǣ* (OTA *ō*). Examples: רְחִיא from רְחִי, פִּתִּיא from פִּתִּי. The supralinear pathah of חִוּא in OJ may be interpreted as seghol, in agreement with OTA חִוּא (§ 2. 6).

18. Forms like חִוּי, חִוּא, with consonantal waw, are unusual. Most nouns ending in ו are feminine (רְבִי, בְּעִי) and are inflected according to the rules of § 11.

**F nouns.** 19\*. In the inflected forms of *ai* stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from *aiya* to *ē* (יֵ.. or יֵ..). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (תִּמְנִי, פִּירְסִי) are treated like those of סְנִי (E class).

**EF nouns.** 20. A few words from stems with final yodh are treated like nouns of the F class in OJ (Dalman, p. 156 ε) and OTA (עֲנִין, Dan. 4. 24, from עֲנִי). See also § 12, note 8.

21\*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in *āwān* or *ēwān*, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: אֲרִיִּין, פִּירְסִין, רְעִין, אֲסִין (cf. § 8, note 11 and § 30, note 2).

**OTA.** 22. The general rules for the inflexion of nouns given in this section apply to OTA. As the E class is very slightly represented there it may be passed over by those who begin their Aramaic reading in OTA. For these the most important notes in this section are 1, 7, 8, 13, and 19, along with 3, 6, and 9 for some details.

## § 11.\* INFLEXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מְלִכְתָּא	מְלִכְת	מְלִכְן	מְלִכְתָּא	מְלִכְת	מְלִכָּא	A
בְּנִשְׁתָּא	בְּנִשְׁת	בְּנִשְׁן	בְּנִשְׁתָּא	בְּנִשְׁת	בְּנִשָּׂא	
אֲמִרְתָּא	אֲמִרְת	אֲמִרְן	אֲמִרְתָּא	אֲמִרְת	אֲמִרָּא	B
מְלִיָּא	מְלִי	מְלִין	מְלִתָּא	מְלִת	מְלָּא	C
מְגִירְתָּא	מְגִירְת	מְגִירְן	מְגִירְתָּא	מְגִירְת	מְגִירָּא	D
חֵיוְתָּא	חֵיוְת	חֵיוְן	חֵיוְתָּא	חֵיוְת	חֵיוָּא	
טְלִיתָּא	טְלִית	טְלִין	טְלִיתָּא OJ טְלִיתָּא PTM	טְלִית	טְלִיָּא	E
סְנִיתָּא	סְנִית	סְנִין	סְנִיתָּא	סְנִית	סְנִיָּא	
גְּלוֹתָּא	גְּלוֹת	גְּלוֹן	גְּלוֹתָּא	גְּלוֹת	גְּלוּ	
צְלוֹתָּא	צְלוֹת	צְלוֹן	צְלוֹתָּא	צְלוֹת	צְלוּ	
מְנוֹתָּא	מְנוֹת	מְנוֹן	מְנוֹתָּא	מְנוֹת	מְנוּ	
עֲבְרִיתָּא	—	עֲבְרִין	עֲבְרִיתָּא עֲבְרִיתָּא	—	עֲבְרִיָּא עֲבְרָא	F
זְרַעֲתָּא	זְרַעֲת	זְרַעֲן	זְרַעֲתָּא	זְרַעֲת	זְרַעִי	G
מְלִכּוֹתָּא	מְלִכּוֹת	מְלִכּוֹן	מְלִכּוֹתָּא	מְלִכּוֹת	מְלִכּוּ	

## Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending *ā* is attached are treated in accordance with the rules of § 10. There are, therefore, six classes of feminine nouns corresponding to the classes of § 9. In the E class nouns having final consonantal waw are numerous and several types of absolute singular are in use (see

Table). Abstract feminine nouns having an ending in  $\bar{z}$  or  $\bar{u}$  are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

**A nouns.** 2. The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually  $\text{תָּה}$ , joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples:  $\text{מִלְכָּתָה}$ ,  $\text{בִּרְכָּתָה}$ ,  $\text{נִשְׁמָתָה}$ .  $\text{תָּה}$  is added to the stem  $\text{קָטַל}$  in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like  $\text{צִדְקָה}$ ). Examples (from Dalman):  $\text{צִדְקָתָה}$ ,  $\text{נִדְבָתָה}$ ,  $\text{אִדְמָתָה}$ ,  $\text{צִוְחָתָה}$ ,  $\text{חֲבִרָתָה}$ ,  $\text{פְּנִשְׁתָּה}$  (absolute  $\text{פְּנִישָׁה}$ ). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives  $\text{עֲגִלָּתָה}$  (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from  $\text{עֲגָלָה}$ ), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from  $\text{עֲגָלָה}$ ). The emphatic sing. fem. of  $\text{חֲדָשׁ}$  (=  $\text{חֲדָת}$ ) is  $\text{חֲדָתָה}$ .

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal shewa following the middle radical ( $\text{פְּרִכָּה}$ , Dan. 2. 9), and this analogy may be followed in reading OJ and PTM (cf. § 10, note 1). In all feminine plurals of the A class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal (§ 10, note 1).

**B nouns.** 3. In this class the emphatic ending is  $\text{תָּה}$  and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 ( $\text{אִמְרָתָה}$ ,  $\text{יְלִידָתָה}$ ,  $\text{יְחִיבָתָה}$ —see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of  $\text{בָּרָא}$  'daughter', is  $\text{בִּרְתָּה}$ , and that of  $\text{שָׁנָא}$  'year', is  $\text{שִׁנָּתָה}$ .

**C nouns.** 4. In the C class  $\text{תָּה}$  is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms.  $\text{מָלָה}$ , like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form.  $\text{שִׁנָּה}$  'sleep', although not from an  $\text{ע"ע}$  stem, is inflected like words of this group ( $\text{שִׁנָּתָה}$ , &c.)

**D nouns.** 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually  $\text{תָּה}$  ( $\text{דִּרְתָּה}$ ,  $\text{תְּקִיפָתָה}$ ,  $\text{שְׁבוּעָתָה}$ ,  $\text{עֲבִידָתָה}$ ,  $\text{בִּיעָתָה}$ ,  $\text{שְׁעָתָה}$ ).  $\text{תָּה}$  is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{u}$  ( $\text{שְׁפִילָתָה}$ ,  $\text{גְּנוּבָתָה}$ ,  $\text{מְהוּלָתָה}$ ).  $\text{יְלִידָתָה}$  and  $\text{יְחִיבָתָה}$  belong rather to the B class.

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Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (שְׂאִילָא, שְׂאִילְתָּא; בְּנִישָׁא, בְּנִישְׂתָּא; נְבִילָא, נְבִילְתָּא; דְּבִילָא, דְּבִילְתָּא), although not exclusively (cf. נְבִלְתָּא, Lev. 5. 2, and לְבָנִין, Exod. 5. 7). All have close parallels in Hebrew.

**E nouns.** 6. There is considerable variety in the inflected forms of feminine nouns of this declension. In the טְלִיא group yodh is always consonantal in OJ and the stem resembles that of the A declension. In PTM quiescence of the yodh takes place in the emphatic sing. (see Table). In the קְנִי group, both in OJ and PTM, yodh quiesces in the construct and emphatic of the singular.

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: רַעְוָא (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרִיָּא or קְרִיָּא 'city' (emphatic קְרִיָּתָא, plural קְרִיָּין). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflexions see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are טִיבִי, זָבו, רְבו, רְשֻׁ, קְצָת. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עוֹלָה seems to be עֲלָא (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֲלָת (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֲלָתָא (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֲלָנִין (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עֲלָת &c. are erroneous. Cf. Syriac and OTA (note 11).

In all feminine plurals of the E class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal, according to the analogy of § 10, note 1.

**F nouns.** 7. After the diphthong *āi* the emphatic termination is אֵי, with mutated ת, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before אֵי is ē. Supralinear plurals like עֲבְרִיָּתָא Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

עֲוִיָּא (= Hebrew עֲוִין) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (עֲוִיָּין, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms עֲנִי and פְּתִי (§ 10, note 20).

**G nouns.** 8. The vowel terminations of the singular are replaced by consonantal yodh or waw in the plural (see Table). The mutation of the third radical in the plural is a peculiar feature.



## Old Testament Aramaic

**A, B, and C nouns.** 9. The inflexion of feminine nouns in OTA is the same as in OJ, except in the emphatic singular of nouns of the D class.

There is only one OTA example of the ending **תָּא** in the A class, viz. **יִבְשֶׁתָּא** (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as **יִבְשֶׁתָּא** (Gen. 1. 9) or **יִבְשֶׁתָּא** (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are **אֲנִירָתָא** (Ezra 4. 11), **רַבָּתָא** (Dan. 4. 27), and **מִלְתָּא** (Dan. 2. 8).

**D nouns.** 10. In MT all words having unchangeable disyllabic stems receive **תָּא** as their emphatic singular ending (**עֲבִירָתָא**, **שְׂאֵלָתָא**, **גְּבוּרָתָא**, **יְקָרָתָא**<sup>1</sup>, **מְרֻדָּתָא**, &c.). The two words having unchangeable monosyllabic stems, **חַיִּיתָא** (Dan. 4. 11) and **בִּירָתָא** (Ezra 6. 2), both receive the emphatic ending **תָּא** (for the reading **בִּירָתָא** see Ginsburg and Strack). MT **שְׁעָתָא** (Dan. 3. 6, &c.), although supported by some supralinear MSS., should be corrected into **שְׁעָתָא** and included in the D class.

**E nouns.** 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. **קְרִיתָא** (Ezra 4. 12) and **עֲרוֹת** (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the **טְלִיא** group, **שְׁנִי** (Dan. 7. 3) to the **סְנִי** (**גְּלִי**) group, and **עֲלָן** (Ezra 6. 9) to the **מְנָת** group. **בְּנָת**, from **בְּנָת**, occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. **גְּלוּתָא** (Dan. 2. 25), from **גְּלוּ**, is also a noun of this declension.

**F nouns.** 12. Before the emphatic singular ending, instead of *āi*, as in **קְרִמִּיתָא** (Dan. 7. 4), **רַבִּיעִיתָא** (Dan. 7. 19), some MSS. read *āi* (cf. note 7). Shewa after *āi* is silent (note 7) in spite of metheg (**קְרִמִּיתָא**). **עֲוִיָּא** (see note 7) occurs once in the plural with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 4. 24).

**G nouns.** 13. **מִשְׁרוּקִיתָא** (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the *i* group and **מִלְכּוֹתָא** (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the *ī* group.

<sup>1</sup> If reckoned a participle, this word comes under the rule of the B class.

§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with singular nouns)

1\*. For the usual forms of the suffixes in OJ and PTM see § 4 and for those of OTA see paradigm, p. 93.

2\*. אב, אח, and הם with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

אָחוּזָא	אָחוּזִי	אָחוּזִיךְ	אָחוּזִיךְ	אָחוּזִי	
		אָחוּזִיךְ			
אָחוּזִיךְ	אָחוּזִיךְ	אָחוּזִיךְ	אָחוּזִיךְ	אָחוּזִיךְ	OJ
				אָחוּזִיךְ	PTM

The suffixes *הי*, *הא*, *נן*, *נא*, and *יך* are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. *יך* is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and *י* (2 s. f.) by the school of Nehardea (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 62 f.) The former is given by Merx (Gen. 24. 23) and in Berliner's *Onkelos* (Gen. 20. 16, 38. 11), the latter in Praetorius (Judg. 14. 15, Josh. 2. 18) and Lagarde (2 Sam. 6. 21, 13. 17).

3. For אבִי OJ uses אָבִי (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, ἀββᾶ). אחִי 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally *ā*, from an older *ai*, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 אָבִי (MT) may originally have meant אָבִי (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. אָבִי is sometimes contracted into אָבִי (*Chrest.* 18. 12).

**A nouns.** 4\*. The stems of masculine nouns with pronominal suffixes attached are generally formed according to the rules of § 10, with some slight modifications.

In the A class the distinction between מִלְכָּא and לְבָכָא is paralleled by the distinction between מִלְכִּי and לְבָכִי. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the קָטֵל type. E.g. אָרַעְהוֹן (Josh. 10. 42), בְּסָרְכוֹן (Judg. 8. 7), but also בְּסָרְכוֹן (Judg. 9. 2).

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ בִּיתִיָּה, OTA בִּיתִיָּה). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between בִּיתִי and בִּיתִי. For לִית with suffixes see § 15, notes 2 and 3.

**B nouns.** 5\*. In the B class the stem vowel of the final syllable is retained before heavy suffixes and becomes vocal shewa before light suffixes. Examples: מִימְרֵהוֹן, מִימְרֵהוֹן, יְדִי, יְדֵהוֹן (OTA יְדֵהוֹם).

**C nouns.** 6\*. The supralinear orthography represented by בּוֹלִיָּה is normal, although the vowel *u* is short (§ 2. 1). In OTA בּוֹל with suffixes has *o* as its stem vowel (Dan. 2. 38, 7. 19), while all other words of this class have *u*.

**E nouns.** 7\*. In the E class words like טְלִי use their emphatic stem before all suffixes. In the *u* sub-class the later Yemenite MSS. sometimes make the vowel of the inflected stem *o*, as in MT (Dan. 4. 9). Examples: טְלִיָּהוֹן, טְלִיָּהוֹן, חֲלִי (Judg. 9. 11), עֲפִיָּה (Dan. 4. 9). Participle forms like סָנִי and nouns like מִשְׁתִּי and מִשְׁרִי either employ their emphatic stem (בְּרִיָּה, מִשְׁתִּיָּה) or, more generally, are treated as plural nouns are (§ 13, note 7). For participles see further § 30, note 4.

**F nouns.** 8. Words from stems final yodh that belong to the F class (§ 10, note 20) like דְּוִי (OJ) and פְּתִי (OTA), have suffixed forms like דְּוִיָּה (Gen. 35. 18, Dalman) and פְּתִיָּה (Dan. 3. 1). Nouns like בּוֹרִסִי with suffixes are treated as plural nouns (§ 13, note 7).

**Feminine stems.** 9\*. Feminine nouns to which pronominal suffixes are attached may be arranged in three divisions, according as the termination of the emphatic singular is תָּא, תָּא, or תָּא.

(1) Nouns that use the ending תָּא join suffixes to the emphatic stem (אִמְרָתִי, אִמְרָתִי).

(2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is תָּא, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מִלְתִּי, מִלְתִּיָּהוֹן; מִלְתִּי, מִלְתִּיָּהוֹן; עֲבִידִתִּי, עֲבִידִתִּיָּהוֹן).

(3) Nouns of the E, F, and G classes, whose emphatic ending is  $\text{נָּ}$ , add suffixes to the emphatic or construct stems, which are the same ( $\text{מְלִכּוֹתַי}$ ,  $\text{מְנַתְּהוֹן}$ ,  $\text{נְלִי־תִיה}$ ). For examples of F nouns see § 29, note 9.

10.  $\text{שְׁנִיתָה}$  (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as derived from an absolute form  $\text{שָׁנָא}$  (cf. § 11, note 4).

**Feminine suffixes.** 11. The supralinear MSS. of OJ generally write the suffixes of the 2 plur. masc. and of the 3 plur. masc. instead of the corresponding feminine forms (Dalman). The same substitution is often made in PTM.

### § 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with masc. plur. stems).

PLURAL SUFFIXES.		SINGULAR SUFFIXES.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
$\text{יָנְ}$	$\text{נָּ}$	$\text{אֵי}$ , $\text{יֵ}$	$\text{יֵ}$ 1 com.
$\text{יָכּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָכּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָכּוֹ}$ , $\text{יָכּוֹ}$	$\text{יָכּוֹ}$ 2 masc.
$\text{יָכּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָכּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָכּוֹ}$ , $\text{יָכּוֹ}$	$\text{יָכּוֹ}$ , $\text{יָכּוֹ}$ fem.
			$\text{יָכּוֹ}$ , $\text{יָכּוֹ}$
$\text{יָהּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָהּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָהּוֹ}$ , $\text{יָהּוֹ}$	$\text{יָהּוֹ}$ 3 masc.
$\text{יָהּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָהּוֹנְ}$	$\text{יָהּוֹ}$ , $\text{יָהּוֹ}$ , $\text{יָהּוֹ}$	$\text{יָהּוֹ}$ fem.

**Suffix forms.** 1\*.  $\text{אֵי}$ ,  $\text{יָכּוֹ}$ , and  $\text{יָכּוֹ}$  are simply orthographical variants for  $\text{יֵ}$ ,  $\text{יָכּוֹ}$ , and  $\text{יָכּוֹ}$ . For  $\text{יָכּוֹ}$  and  $\text{יָהּוֹ}$  see § 2. 14.  $\text{נָּ}$  is an alternative in OJ for  $\text{יֵ}$  (see § 29, note 8).

2\*. The 'connective vowel' of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending  $ai$ , which in a majority of cases has become  $\bar{e}$  or  $\check{a}$  or  $\bar{a}$ . The connective  $\bar{o}$  of  $\text{יָהּוֹ}$  is explained either as a nominative plural ending =  $au$  (Barth) or as a dissimilation from  $ai$  (Dalman). The terminations  $\text{כֵּ}$ ,  $\text{הֵ}$ , and  $\text{נָּ}$  were originally used with singular as well as with plural stems (§ 4, note 2, § 12, note 2). The contracted forms of 3 sing. masc. and 3 sing. fem. are charac-



teristic of PTM.  $\text{ןֿ}$  is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix  $\text{ןֿ}$  is used by PTM in  $\text{רַבָּנָן}$  'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the Kethibh implies the earlier pronunciations  $\text{יָֿ}$ ,  $\text{יָֿ}$ , and  $\text{נָֿ}$ , which the Qere alters into  $\text{יָֿ}$ ,  $\text{יָֿ}$ , and  $\text{נָֿ}$  respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

4\*. It may be observed that several of the *ai* suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns ( $\text{יָֿ}$ ,  $\text{יָֿ}$ ,  $\text{נָֿ}$ ). Unvocalized  $\text{יה}$  in PTM, when joined to a masc. plural stem means 'her', and to a singular stem 'his'.

**Plural stems.** 5\*. Most of the plural stems of § 10 are also used when pronominal suffixes are joined to plurals (e.g.  $\text{מִלְכָּנָא}$ ,  $\text{יָֿ}$ ,  $\text{נָֿ}$ ). Only the  $\text{טָֿ}$  group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular ( $\text{טָֿ}$ ,  $\text{טָֿ}$ ). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem ( $\text{סָֿ}$ ,  $\text{רָֿ}$ ,  $\text{מָֿ}$ ). In Dan. 2. 32 this treatment is extended to the form  $\text{חָֿ}$ , although presumably its uninflected singular is  $\text{חָֿ}$ , as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses  $\text{תְּרִיִּהוֹן}$  (Gen. 2. 25), instead of  $\text{תְּרִיִּהוֹן}$ , and PTM sometimes has the same form (cf. § 8, note 15).

**Singular stems like plurals.** 7\*. The direct combination of pronominal suffixes with the singular ending  $\bar{e}$  of certain nouns of the E class, like  $\text{מִשְׁתִּי}$  and  $\text{מִשְׁרִי}$ , produces a set of *ai* suffixes, which are precisely the same as those attached to plural stems. This makes the singular and plural forms of such nouns frequently indistinguishable ( $\text{מִשְׁרִיִּהוֹן}$ ,  $\text{מִשְׁרִיִּהוֹן}$ ). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like  $\text{בִּירְסִי}$ , are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

8.  $\text{מָֿ}$  'master', with suffixes employs a stem with consonantal yodh ( $\text{מָֿ}$ , *Chrest.*, p. 23, note 1), or a contracted stem with the suffixes of § 12 ( $\text{מָֿ}$ , Exod. 21. 29,  $\text{מָֿ}$ , Dan. 4. 16, 21) or a contracted stem with the suffixes of this section ( $\text{מָֿ}$ , Exod. 21. 34).

In the Kethibh form מֵרָאִי (Dan. 4. 16, 21) אִי might represent *ai* (§ 2. 1) but probably א stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

9\*. Prepositions that originally ended in *ē*, for that reason take *ai* suffixes (עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (בְּתַרִּי, קִדְמִי). In OTA עֲלֵינָא or עֲלֵינָא (Ezra 4. 12, &c.), an old form of the suffix נָא\_, is preserved (cf. note 3).

**Fem. plur. suffixes.** 10. The observations of § 12, note 11, apply also to the suffixes added to plural stems.

#### § 14\*. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with fem. plur. stems).

##### BORROWED *ai* SUFFIXES.

##### NORMAL SUFFIXES.

PTM	OJ	OJ and PTM	
	אֶמְרָתִי	אֶמְרָתְנָא OJ	אֶמְרָתִי 1 com.
		אֶמְרָתֵן PTM	
אֶמְרָתִיכֹון	—	אֶמְרָתְכֹון	אֶמְרָתְךָ 2 masc.
	אֶמְרָתְךָ	—	אֶמְרָתְךָ fem.
אֶמְרָתִיהֹון	אֶמְרָתֹוהִי	אֶמְרָתְהֹון	אֶמְרָתֶיהָ 3 masc.
	אֶמְרָתְהָ	—	אֶמְרָתֶיהָ fem.

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (צִדְקוֹתֵי, &c.) is occasionally followed in OJ and PTM (for particulars see Table above). Dalman gives the order of frequency of occurrence of these borrowed *ai* suffixes in OJ as: (1) 3 sing. fem., (2) 1 sing., (3) 3 sing. masc. אֵי\_ for אֵי' occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2. 23 some MSS. read אֶבְרָתִי for אֶבְרָתִי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

## § 15. לִּית, אִית, ETC.

**Forms.** 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11. 26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) לֹא occurs for לִּית. In OTA the forms used are אִיתִי and אִיתִי.

**Subject pronouns.** 2. In PTM the subject pronouns of these particles are in the nominative forms (e.g. לִּית הוּא). לִּית coalesces with the pronouns of the 1 sing. and 1 plur. and 3 plur. into the compounds לִּיתִי, לִּינִי, and לִּיתֵינוּ.

3. In OJ the subject pronouns are generally expressed by suffixes, except in the 3 person plural. The suffixes are *ai* suffixes, because of the original ending of the particles (cf. § 13, note 7, and OTA אִיתִי). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become *ā* and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: אִיתִי, אִיתִיכֹן, אִיתִי. The inflected stem of לִּית has two forms, as in לִּיתִי and לִּיתִי. In the latter the shewa following yodh is vocal (Dalman, p. 108). The nominative form of the pronoun of the 3 person plural coalesces with לִּית, as in PTM (לִּיתֵנוּ). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9 לִּית אֲנִי וְכָל).

4. In OTA the subject pronouns of אִיתִי are expressed by means of suffixes of the *ai* form (אִיתִיכֹן, &c.).

**Usages.** 5. אִית and לִּית express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. אִית הָכָא חַד יְהוּדִי 'there is here a Jew' (20. 9). They are regularly combined with לִּי, לָךְ, &c., to express the verb 'have'; e.g. אִין לִּית לָךְ פְּרִיטִין 'if you have no money' (15. 9). Sometimes אִית may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. לֹא אִית בְּחִילִי 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ לִּית is used absolutely, like Hebrew אִין (Gen. 5. 24, 37. 30).

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equivalent to the English copula; e.g. לִּית מֶלֶךְ 'I am not a king' (20. 10), לִּית בֵּיתָא דְּרִין חֲרִב 'this house will not be destroyed' (20. 12). A subject noun or pronoun follows אִית (לִּית), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.

Before prepositional phrases, where אִיּוֹת may also be translated 'is', it really has the sense of 'there is' or 'there exists', e.g. כָּל כִּי אִיּוֹת בָּהּ 'everything that is (there is) in it' (26. 14; cf. Dan. 2. 30).

## § 16. VERBAL STEMS

### REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE.

אִתְּפַחֵיב Ithp<sup>ee</sup>l

אִתְּפַחֵב Ithpaal

אִתְּפַחֵב Ittaphal

### ACTIVE.

פַּחֵב Peal

פַּחֵב Pael

אִפְחֵב Aphel

Simple

Intensive

Causative

1\*. The stems having preformative *i/h* are reflexives, which serve also as passives.

2\*. The Pael, Aphel, and Ithp<sup>ee</sup>l of verbs final ה, ח, and ע take pathah for sere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

**P<sup>ee</sup>al.** 3\*. Peal perfects with  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{i}$  in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: חֲזָק 'be strong' (Gen. 1. 28) or 'be angry' (Gen. 4. 5), חָזַק (Gen. 3. 10), קָרַב (Gen. 12. 1), שָׁאַל (Judg. 1. 1), שָׁלַח (Gen. 15. 16), נָסַב and נָסַב (Gen. 2. 21); דָּמַד and דָּמַד (Gen. 2. 21).  $\bar{o}$  occurs for  $\bar{i}$  (מָרַד, Kahle, p. 219) and  $\bar{i}$  for  $\bar{e}$ , especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 f., 257). In OTA  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  both occur, the latter generally in pause (חָזַק, שָׁאַל, קָרַב). Where MT has  $\bar{i}$  the supralinear MSS. sometimes have  $\bar{e}$  (Dan. 6. 21, וָעַק).

**Haphel.** 4\*. Haphels sometimes take the place of Aphels in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are הִימִין, הוֹרַע, and הוֹפֵעַ (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

5. In הִימִין, which is borrowed from Hebrew, the final vowel is  $\bar{i}$  (Gen. 45. 26—Berliner) or  $\bar{e}$  (Gen. 15. 6—Berliner). Supralinear MSS. give both הִימִין (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and הִימִין (Merx). In Dan. 6. 24 the sublinear vowel is  $\bar{i}$  and the supralinear is  $\bar{e}$ .



**Ith forms.** 6\*. The Ithp<sup>e</sup>el and Ithpaal of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

(a) ת of the prefix is assimilated to a following ת, ט, or ד (thus אֲתִדְבֹּר becomes אֲדִבֹּר).

(b) ת changes places with a following sibilant and after צ and ז becomes ט and ד respectively. Examples: אֲצַטְרֵךְ, אֲזַדְרֵעַ.

Ittaphal forms are not affected (אֲתַסְסֵהוּ, Exod. 21. 29).

7. In PTM assimilation of ת to פ, ב, מ, נ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: אֲתַפְסִיק = אֲתַפְסִיק, אֲבָרִי = אֲתַבְרִי (21. 4), אֲמַלִּיךְ = אֲתַמְלִיךְ, אֲנַשְׁמַח = אֲתַנַּשְׁמַח (28. 4). Dalman compares ἐφφαθά (Mark 7. 34) = אֲתַפְתַּח (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also *Chrest.* 4. 19, מִתְקַנֶּה = מִתְקַנֶּה.

8. In the supralinear vocalization an intrusive vowel frequently appears after preformative אַת, in the perfect and other tenses (אַתִּימַנֵּעַ).

**Shaphel, &c.** 9\*. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שִׁבְּלִיל 'complete' (passive אֲשַׁתְּבַּלֵּל, Gen. 2. 1), שִׁעְבִּיר 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שִׁיִּיב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שִׁיֵּץ 'finish' (Gen. 2. 2). See § 26, note 6.

10. Less common forms are the Pō'ēl and Pā'ēl (both = Arabic iii), with their passives (e.g. זָמִין, Gen. 24. 14). The Pōlēl, Pālēl, and Palpēl are formed from stems ע"י and ע"ע (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

**OTA.** 11. OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Hophals and a perfect passive Peal of the form Pe'il, especially in the 3 person (יְהִיבַת. Dan. 5. 28; יְהִיבִי, Ezra 5. 14; cf. אֲחִידַת, *Chrest.* 1. 8). Haphels for Aphels and preformative הַת for אַת are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With אֲשַׁחֲזֶמֶם (Dan. 4. 16) the Syriac forms having preformative אַת may be compared.

12. Where OJ has ē in the final syllable (Pael, Aphel, Ithp<sup>e</sup>el) OTA sometimes has ē and sometimes ī. It is difficult to make

a general statement on the subject, or to frame an accurate paradigm, because of the paucity of material. The following review includes all perfects, imperfects, imperatives, and participles of verbs other than those א"ל (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and ע"י and ע"ע (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of  $\bar{i}$  number four, against one of  $\bar{e}$  (Dan. 6. 1); in the imperf. and partic. there is one example of both on each side, of the imperat. no cases at all. In the HAPHEL the perfect (three examples) and the imperative (two examples) have  $\bar{e}$  (excluding הִימִין, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of  $\bar{i}$  and two of  $\bar{e}$  (viz. תְּהוֹבֵר and תִּתֵּחַ), in the participle two cases of  $\bar{i}$ . In the HITHP<sup>e</sup>EL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of  $\bar{i}$  and one of  $\bar{e}$ , and in the participle two examples of  $\bar{e}$ . The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Peal perfects see note 3.

## § 17. PERFECT TENSES

PAEL.		PeAL.			
PTM	OJ	OJ	PTM	OJ	
	פְּתִיב	דְּמוּךְ		פְּתַב	3 s. m.
	פְּתִיבַת	דְּמוּכַת		פְּתַבַת	f.
	פְּתִיבַת - תָּא	דְּמוּכַת - תָּא		פְּתַבַת - תָּא	2 s. m.
	פְּתִיבָה	דְּמוּכָה		פְּתַבָה	f.
	פְּתִיבִית	דְּמוּכִית		פְּתַבִית	1 sing.
פְּתִיבֹון	פְּתִיבוּ	דְּמוּכוּ	פְּתִיבֹון	פְּתַבוּ	3 pl. m.
פְּתִיבֹון	פְּתִיבָא	דְּמוּכָא	פְּתִיבֹון	פְּתַבָא	f.
	פְּתִיבֹון	דְּמוּכֹון		פְּתַבֹון	2 pl. m.
	פְּתִיבֹון	דְּמוּכֹון		פְּתַבֹון	f.
פְּתִיבֹון	פְּתִיבֹון	דְּמוּכֹון	פְּתִיבֹון	פְּתַבֹון	1 plur.

**Table.** 1\*. The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ , and  $\bar{u}$ . The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced כְּתָבְת rather than כְּתִבְת (§ 2. 6).

**Endings.** 2\*. The distinctive ending סָף is more common in OJ than in PTM (Dalman) and is predominant in OTA (ף).

3\*. The PTM plural endings  $\bar{u}n$  and  $\bar{a}n$  are borrowed from the imperf. tense, to which they properly belong.  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{a}$  also occur in PTM.

4. In PTM יִנְ occurs for נִן and יִתּוֹן for תּוֹן, especially in Aphels. The  $\bar{e}$  may have been transferred from the final syllable of the Aphel (Pael) stem. Dalman suggests the influence of the forms of § 21, note 7. Examples: אֶפְקִינִן (25. 5), אֶקְלִינִן (23. 9). The form אֶתְקִינִן (19. ii. 9) = אֶתְקִין + נִן.

**Accent.** 5\*. In OJ only the 2 plur. terminations are accented; in OTA the 2 plur., 3 s. f. (Syriac type—see note 6) and the 1 sing.; in PTM at least the 2 and 3 plur. terminations and possibly, like OTA, the 3 s. f. and 1 sing.

**OTA.** 6. In OTA the 3 s. f. has two forms, one of the OJ type and the other resembling the Syriac form. The former occurs in two Peals (אֶמְרַת, בְּטַלַת) and in the few cases there are of Hithpeel (הִתְנַפְּרַת) and Haphel (הִדְקַת) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (סִלְקַת) and in two of three Hophals (הִחְרַבַת). In the Peal, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (יִרְעַת, בְּרַבַת). In the Haphel, besides הִקְיַמַת (§ 33), only הִשְׁבַּחַת (Dan. 2. 25) occurs. The form resembles that of OJ and perhaps its vocalization, which is also that of a 3 s. f. perfect, should be הִשְׁבַּחַת (as הִקְיַמַת) or הִשְׁבַּחַת (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.

**Syntax.** 7. In PTM the 2 pl. masc. form is always used for the 2 pl. fem. and frequently the 3 pl. m. for the 3 pl. f. (Dalman).

8. In PTM and OTA perfect tenses alternate with participles in narratives regarding the past (cf. § 21), and the use of successive sentences unconnected by conjunctions (asyndeton) is characteristic, especially of PTM. OJ follows the Hebrew text in its use of conjunctions. The perfect is used to express unfulfilled conditions after אִין (26. 18) and אֵלּוּ (21. 11, 24. 1, 27. 12) and sometimes also as the tense of the following apodosis (21. 11), but not generally (see § 22, note 2*f*).

## § 18. IMPERFECT TENSES

### PAEL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיב
יִכְתְּבִי	יִכְתְּבִיב
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבִיב
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ

### PeAL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.	
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	3 masc.
יִכְתְּבִי	יִכְתֹּב	fem.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	2 masc.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	fem.
יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	1 m. and f.

**Stem vowels.** 1\*. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is rarely *ē*, except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (יִעֲבִיר, יִחַי, יִחַי). Pathah is not usual in the imperf. Peal of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of *ū* for *ō* and of *ī* for *ē* may originally have been limited to pausal forms, where it is found with special frequency (Deut. 16. 29).

2\*. The stem vowels of other imperf. than the Peal agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יִתְכַּנֵּשׁ, יִתְבַּח, יִשְׁבַּח.

**Preformative vowels.** 3\*. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. Peal (as in Judg. 4. 7, 6. 15), except



in the case of some verbs initial guttural (§ 23), is a usage of late Yemenite MSS. In OTA preformative seghol occurs twice in MT (אֶקְרָא, אֶבְעֵא)<sup>1</sup> and hireq once (אֶנִּידַע).

4\*. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly אִי, and אִי is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of ḥaṭeph seghol (§ 2.8). אִסְעָרִים in the MT of Zech. 7.14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is אִחֲוִיָּא (Dan. 2.24).

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperf. Pael and Aphel an intrusive vowel (hireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e.g. יִשְׁלֹטוֹן = יִשְׁלֹטוֹן, Deut. 15.6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithpael (§ 16, note 8).

**Prefix ל.** 6. Forms of 3 s. m. imperf. with preformative ל (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 565) are found in PTM (21. ii. 6). Examples: (לִפִּיךָ, לִמּוֹת, לִיכּוֹל, לְהוֹי) לִפֶּק, לִימּוֹת, לִיכּוֹל, לְהוֹי. They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after וְ and לְ) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms לְהוֹיָא (לְהוֹיָא), לְהוֹי, and לְהוֹיָא occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name יהוה.

**OTA.** 7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Pael are  $\bar{u}$  (יִסְנֶד),  $\bar{a}$  (יִלְבֹּשׁ), and  $\bar{e}$  (יִפְּל) and those of the imperf. Pael and Haphel  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{i}$  (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יְהִשָּׁבַח, יְהִשָּׁבַל). The plural ending  $\bar{u}$  (or  $\bar{o}$ ), for  $\bar{u}n$ , occurs twice (§ 29, note 10; § 35, note 5). See also notes 3, 4 and 6.

**Syntax.** 8. In PTM the uses of the imperfect tense are very strictly limited:

(1) It is a jussive (21. ii. 6, 26. 17, 27. 6) or imperative (with negative, 16. ii. 4, 19. ii. 7 f., 22. ii. 5; as a polite imperat., 24. ii. 7)

<sup>1</sup> In the supralinear MSS. probably hireq, as Dan. 5. 17 (Strack).

and expresses wishes, imprecations (26, last line, 28, second last line) and resolves (18. 9, 28. 6—see (4) below).

(2) It is used after  $\text{וְ}$  and  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after  $\text{לֵאמֹר}$  = lest (24. 3) and after  $\text{וְ}$  (or  $\text{וְלֵאמֹר}$ ) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21. 2) and ordering (23. 5).

(3) It is used modally (21. 3), especially in questions (19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7, 24. ii. 2, 25. ii. 8). Cf. note 9 (3).

(4) It is a future tense only when there is an implication of indefiniteness (19. iii. 3 'that I should go out', 22. 1 'should be married', 28. 6,  $\text{כָּל דְּיִמַּר לִי בַר נְשָׂא אֶעֱבֹד}$  'everything that any one *may bid me* I will do'), in subordinate clauses.

9. In OJ the imperfect tense is used more extensively than in PTM. It is employed:

(1) As an imperative, jussive, and voluntative, expressing commands and exhortations (Gen. 6. 21, Exod. 22. 24, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 23. 8, 13, 1 Sam. 24. 13), and resolves (Gen. 6. 7, Josh. 24. 15, 1 Sam. 24. 11).

(2) After  $\text{וְכִי}$  in purpose clauses (Gen. 12. 13, 27. 25, Exod. 8. 6, 11. 7, Deut. 4. 1, 5. 16, 8. 1, 11. 8).

(3) As the usual equivalent of most Hebrew modal imperfects (to be rendered by may, might, would, should, must, &c.). 'Could' is expressed by an imperfect (2 Sam. 2. 22, 1 Kings 8. 5) or a participle (1 Kings 18. 10, Jer. 24. 2), or by  $\text{אִם־יִשְׁכַּחֵם}$  with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). 'Can' may also be expressed by  $\text{אִם־יִשְׁכַּחֵם}$  (Isai. 49. 15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2. 17, 3. 4, 49. 1, Exod. 4. 1, 6. 1, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 1. 3, 18, 3. 5, 10, 13, 18. 8, 23. 5, 1 Sam. 24. 21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following  $\text{אִם}$  (Gen. 18. 26, Exod. 22. 24, Josh. 23. 12) and  $\text{אִם־יִשְׁכַּחֵם}$  (Hebrew  $\text{כִּי}$ ), Josh. 24. 20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43. 4 f.).

(6) As a future in the past (preterite future)—Gen. 2. 19, Exod. 2. 4, 1 Sam. 22. 22, 2 Kings 13. 14—for which a participle (Gen. 43. 25, 1 Kings 7. 7) or עֲתִידָהּ with an imperf. (2 Kings 3. 27) are possible alternatives.

10. In OTA the imperfect is used as the ordinary future tense, as a jussive, and in the various modal senses. It is also used in conditional sentences, referring to the future (English indefinite present). It seldom refers to the present or the past.

11. עֲתִידָהּ ('ready', 'prepared') or עֲתִידָהּ, with an infinitive, also expresses future time in OJ and PTM (Gen. 4. 10, 41. 28, Exod. 16. 23; Dalman, *Grammar*, p. 268 f.).

12. Sometimes an imperfect tense depends directly upon a governing verb, without הָ (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29. 21, רָבִנָּה 'Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall'). Cf. הָאֵלֶּה לִּי מִן הָאֵלֶּה (19. iii. 3) 'the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here'. For נִצֵּל and נָפֹק see note 13.

13. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. impf. (19. iii. 3, 21. 1, 24. ii. 7, 29. 21; Dalman, p. 265 f.). Cf. Dan. 2. 36, and see § 21, note 14.

§ 19. IMPERATIVES

PAEL.		PeAL.		OJ
פְּתִיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	פְּתֹב	2 s. m.
פְּתִיבִי	מְנַעִי	עֲבִידִי	פְּתֹבִי	f.
פְּתִיבוּ	מְנַעוּ	עֲבִידוּ	פְּתֹבוּ	2 pl. m.
פְּתִיבָא	מְנַעָא	עֲבִידָא	פְּתֹבָא	f.
PTM				
פְּתִיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	פְּתֹב	2 s. m.
פְּתִיבִין	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידִין	פְּתֹבִין	f.
פְּתִיבוּן	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידוּן	פְּתֹבוּן	2 pl. m.
פְּתִיבֹן	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידֹן	פְּתֹבֹן	f.

1\*. In PTM the terminations are accented, in OJ unaccented.

2\*. The final stem vowel of an imperative form agrees generally with that of the corresponding imperfect tense (cf. § 18, note 1).

3\*. The MSS. of PTM indicate only *u* as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Peal imperatives. *ī* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ā* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). עֲבִדוּן might have been given as the paradigm form.

4\*. In OJ and PTM the plural imperative of the derived stems is the same as their 3 plur. perf. and in some verbs the plural imperat. Peal is also ambiguous (מִנְעוּן, מִנְעִי).

5. ἐφφαθά is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having ת assimilated to פ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's ears being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly אֶתְּפַתְּחָא = אֶפְתַּח = ἐφφαθά (ח not being distinguished from נ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).

OTA. 6. OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to כְּתוּב and אֶכְתִּיב are כְּתִיב (one example) and הִכְתִּיב (two examples).

## § 20. INFINITIVES

BAB	PTM	OJ	OJ	
	מִכְתֵּב		מִכְתֵּב	Peal
	מִכְתּוּב			
	מִכְתְּבָא			
פְּתוּבִי	מִכְתְּבָא	פְּתִיב	פְּתִיבָא	Pael
אֶכְתּוּבִי	מִכְתְּבָא	אֶכְתִּיב	אֶכְתִּיבָא	Aphel
אֶתְּכְתּוּבִי	מִתְּכְתְּבָא	אֶתְּכִיב	אֶתְּכִיבָא	Ithpeel
אֶתְּכְתּוּבִי	מִתְּכְתְּבָא	אֶתְּכִיב	אֶתְּכִיבָא	Ithpaal
	מִתְּכְתְּבָא	אֶתְּכִיב	אֶתְּכִיבָא	Ittaphal



**Orthography.** 1\*. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by ה, and this orthography is usual in OTA.

**BAB.** 2. The forms under BAB, which are of Babylonian origin, occur occasionally in OJ (Judg. 3. 26) and PTM (23. 3).

**OJ.** 3\*. The OJ forms in *ūlh* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *ā* is unchangeable (קָדְמוּתִיהָ, Gen. 14. 17).

**PTM.** 4\*. The infinn. of the derived stems in PTM are inflected like feminine nouns (מִפְקֻתָּהוֹן, 16. ii. 8—infin. Aphel of נִפְקַ).

**OTA.** 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative ה for א (see paradigm, p. 95). הִנְזֻקָה (Ezra 4. 22), with construct ending as in PTM, is exceptional.

**Infin. Peal.** 6\*. In OJ and OTA infinn. Peal are inflected as nouns of the B class מְקַרְבֵּהוֹן, מְקַרְבֵּי (§ 12, note 5). In PTM the termination ׀ (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (מְקַרְבֵּינִיהָ).

**Syntax.** 7. The adverbial use of the Hebrew infin. absolute (as in Deut. 15. 4, 5, 8) is exactly reproduced by OJ, and the Peal infinitive form is then generally written מְקַרְבֵּב in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. מְזַבֵּן in 2 Sam. 24. 24, Kahle, p. 28). The idiom is infrequent in PTM (Dalman, p. 280).

8. In OJ an infinitive dependent on a governing verb is nearly always preceded by ל, even when there is no preposition in the Hebrew text (Exod. 2. 3, Deut. 1. 19, 2. 25, Num. 22. 14, Judg. 8. 3, Isai. 1. 14). In OTA the use of ל is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with ל (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without ל (19. ii. 10, 27. 2, 3, 6 and 8, 29. 7).

9. A Hebrew infinitive in the nominative case is generally replaced in OJ by הַ with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.

14. 12, Judg. 18. 19), or a perfect (Gen. 30. 15), or a partic. (Isai. 7. 13). Examples of the retention of the infin. occur in 1 Sam. 15. 22, 29. 6, Isai. 10. 7.

10. The Hebrew negative לֹבֵלְתִי is represented in OJ by בְּרִיל לֹא (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA לֹא with an infin. means 'must not be'.

11. A peculiarity of the syntax of OTA is that a single object noun, with no qualification, stands before a governing infin. (Dan. 3. 16, 5. 16, &c.). Cf. Dan. 2. 12, 3. 19, 5. 7, 7. 25, where the object follows. Objects such as generally follow a governing infin. may also precede the infin. (Dan. 2. 10, 3. 32, 5. 15, &c.) and do so freely in Ezra (4. 14, 5. 13, &c.).

## § 21. PARTICIPLES

APHEL.	PAEL.		PeAL.	
	PTM	OJ		
מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	כָּתִיב	active
מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	כָּתִיב	passive
ITTAHAL.	ITHPAAL.		ITHPeEL.	
מְתַכַּתֵּב	מְתַכַּתֵּב		מְתַכַּתֵּב	

**Forms.** 1\*. Since verbs final guttural and resh have  $\check{a}$  for  $\check{e}$  in all final syllables אָמַר is the partic. Peal of אָמַר, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Pael and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, מְשִׁיב (Deut. 3. 3, Judg. 12. 5) and מְשִׁיב (from שִׁיב, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2\*. In OJ  $\bar{z}$  sometimes appears for final  $\bar{e}$  (so עָבִיר in 1 Kings 1. 6, Kahle, p. 28, and מְרַחֵם in Deut. 28. 50, Kahle, p. 225).

Pael particc. used as nouns always have  $\bar{i}$  in the supralinear punctuation (so פָּהִיר, סָהִיר, פָּרִיק). In OTA  $\bar{e}$  is usual, but eight words have  $\bar{i}$  for  $\bar{e}$ , viz. :

יָכַל, נָחַת, דָּלַק, נָזַק, מְמַלֵּל, מְשַׁפֵּל, מַצֵּל, מְשִׁיב.

3\*. The particc. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples : דָּמִיךְ (also דְּמִיךְ) 'sleeping'; רָחִיין (also רְחִיין) 'trusting', 'hoping'; דָּחִיל (also דְּחֹל) 'fearing'.

4\*. Words of the form פְּתִיב may have an active sense. Examples : סָבִיר 'thinking'; דְּבִיר 'remembering'; תְּמִיחַ (? also תְּמִיחַ) 'wondering'.

5. The form מְכִתֵּב occurs occasionally in PTM and מְכַתֵּב (especially with verbs medial guttural) in OJ (Gen. 2. 9).

**Inflections.** 6. Participles are inflected like nouns of the B class (§ 10, note 7). There is, therefore, no formal distinction between active and passive in the particc. Pael and Aphel when these are inflected (מְכַתֵּב, &c.). Forms like תְּמִיחִין (17. ii. 18), מְקִילִין (23. 8), יְתִיבָא (27. 2), and עֲבִירָא (28. 17) occur in the unvocalized texts of PTM and are read by Dalman as עֲבִירָא, &c. They do not occur in MSS. having a supralinear vocalization (Dalman, p. 311). Possibly yodh in such cases signifies vocal shewa (§ 2. 8).

7\*. Shortened forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons (נָא, נִן, הִי, and תִּין) joined to particc. make a new tense form. Examples : יִדְעָנָא (Gen. 4. 9), רָכִבָּהּ (Berliner) or רָכִיבָהּ (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, זָרַעָהּ (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), יִדְעִינִן (25. ii. 8),<sup>1</sup> יִדְעִתִּין (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

8. Tense forms got by uniting particc. and perf. terminations also occur, e.g. מְצַלִּין (or מְצִלִּין, § 28, note 1), meaning 'they prayed' (Dalman, p. 284).

<sup>1</sup> So Dalman (cf. *Gram.*, p. 290); why not יִדְעִינִן?

**Syntax.** 9. In PTM participles take over much of the early usage of imperfect tenses. They serve as an ordinary future tense (15. 9, 16. 5—יְהִיב, 20. 11, 23. ii. 8, 26. 3), and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences (16. ii. 13), and they express promises (15. 10, 20. ii. 11) and general truths (23. 8). With עַר 'while' (14. ii. 4), and in an object sentence dependent on a past tense (16. ii. 11) they are used as past progressives and may sometimes be rendered by an English past tense (24. 2). The use of partic. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—אָמַרָה).

10. In OJ partic. often represent Hebrew imperf. (or consecutive perf.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18. 15, Num. 11. 12, Deut. 1. 31 and 44, Judg. 7. 5, 10. 4, 1 Sam. 5. 5, 16. 7, 2 Kings 9. 20) or in the past (Gen. 29. 2, Num. 9. 20, Judg. 2. 19, 6. 5, 14. 10, 1 Sam. 1. 3, 6, 7, 2. 13 f. and 19) are expressed by partic. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperf. is rendered in OJ by a participle (Gen. 32. 29 = 32. 30, 37. 15, Exod. 2. 13, 3. 3, Judg. 17. 9, 19. 17, 1 Sam. 1. 8, 25. 10, 28. 16).<sup>1</sup>

So, also, when the Hebrew imperf. denotes continuance of a state through a period in the past (Gen. 2. 25, Exod. 13. 22, 1 Sam. 1. 13, Isai. 10. 7) or the future (1 Sam. 1. 14).

11. In OTA the partic. is the ordinary equivalent of a present tense (Dan. 2. 8) and a very frequent alternative to a perfect in narratives of past events (Dan. 4. 4, Ezra 5. 3). It is also used as a progressive tense, descriptive of events in the present (Dan. 3. 25—מֵהִלְכִּין) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—כֹּתְבָה), and in stating general

<sup>1</sup> In OJ an imperfect in questions is to be understood as a future (Gen. 16. 8), or in a modal sense (Gen. 27. 45, 1 Sam. 17. 8, 28. 15). Cf. § 18, note 9.



truths (Dan. 2. 21). Occasionally it alternates with the imperfect as a future tense (Dan. 4. 29).

12. When the pronoun subject of a partic. is in the third person, it is often left unexpressed (*Chrest.* 15. 11, 16. ii. 3, 20. 8, 24. 10, 27. 9; Dan. 4. 4, 4. 32).

13. A general statement with an indefinite subject is expressed by the plural of a partic. without an explicit subject. Examples: *Chrest.* 27. 11, 'men despise'; Ezra 6. 3, 'men sacrifice'; Dan. 4. 28, equivalent to a passive 'you are addressed'.

14. The 1 pers. plur. of the participle tense (note 7) may be used for the 1 pers. sing. (Dalman, p. 266). Cf. § 18, note 13.

15. Some verbs take as their complement a participle, instead of an infin. Examples: קִים (14. ii. 1), שָׁרִי (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), עָבַד (19. 13). שָׂרִי ('begin') is used with partic. in the Peshitta, but with infin. in OJ (Gen. 6. 1, Deut. 2. 31, Judg. 10. 18, 13. 5, 1 Sam. 14. 35) and in OTA (Ezra 5. 2).

## § 22. COMPOUND TENSES

1\*. The tenses of the verb הָיָה 'become' form compound tenses with the participles of other verbs. These compound tenses occur frequently in PTM and are also a characteristic feature of OTA. They are seldom used by OJ.

2. In PTM the perfect of הָיָה joined to a present participle expresses:

(a) *A past progressive tense*, in sentences introduced by 'who' or 'when' (14. ii. 1, 15. ii. 1, 22. 7) and in circumstantial clauses (15. 6, 16. ii. 5). It describes a prolonged state or act in the past, where in English a past tense is a possible (22. 3, 27. ii. 1) or a preferable (16. ii. 5, 16. ii. 8) alternative. The verbs employed are very frequently intrans. verbs denoting state or condition. Examples: הָיָה אָתִי בֹר 'when he was coming', הָיָה יָדַע 'now he

knew'. In the sentence *וַהֲוֹת בְּכִיָּה גּוֹ אֶסְטֶרְטָה וְאַמְרִית לָהּ מָה לִּי* (29. 6) the compound tense possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

(b) *A pluperfect progressive tense*, in sentences dependent on a past tense (16. 6, 'he found that he had been selling').

(c) *A habit or custom*, in the present (21. 12) or the past (22. ii. 2, 23. ii. 7, 27. 1, 28. 6, 'he used to say').

(d) *An act repeated in the past* a number of times, by the same or by different persons (15. 3, 19, ii. 15—*כָּל מָאן דִּיהוּה אָתִי לְחַפְנָן הָוה*—21. 13, 22. 7).  
*עָבִיר בֵּין*

(e) *A future in the past* (preterite future), 'he lay down beside one of them in order to learn what they would say' (17. ii. 4 f.).

(f) *A past conditional*, expressing 'would have' (22. 9, after *הִיָּה*, 24. 2, 27. 12, both in apodoses of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

3. The participle tense of *הָוה* (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: *הָוִינָא מְנַלְיָא* 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), *מָה הָוִינָה מְסַעֲר דְּעֵתִי* 'How could I have diverted my attention?' (29. 28). For the expression of 'could have' by a compound tense see also note 5.

4. In OTA the uses of the perfect compound tense, so far as they occur, are the same as in PTM. Examples: (a) Dan. 2. 31, 5. 19—*הָוִי וַיִּעֵין* 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (c) Dan. 5. 19—*הָוה קָטַל* 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6. 11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (*הָוִא בִּרְרָהּ*) and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (*הָוִי בְּעֵין*). In Dan. 6. 15 *הָוה מְשַׁתְּדֵּר* may be classed under (a) or (d).

5\*. In OJ a participle or an imperfect tense is generally used where PTM would use a compound perfect tense. A compound

perfect is, however, sometimes used to describe an act or state extending over a period of time (Gen. 2. 6, 19, Josh. 4. 14, 'as they had revered') or repeated at intervals during a period of time (Gen. 31. 18). It is also used in the apodosis of conditional sentences (Judg. 11. 39, 'he would have redeemed') and to express 'could have' (Gen. 43. 7). It is of course the regular equivalent of the same compound tense in Hebrew (Gen. 4. 17, 37. 2, &c.).

6\*. The imperfect  $\text{נִהְיֶה}$  joined to the present participle of another verb is used (*a*) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after  $\text{כֹּהֵן}$ ), (*b*) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (*c*) after  $\text{יִהְיֶה}$  and  $\text{נִהְיֶה}$  to express result or effect (*Chrest.* 16. ii. 14, 18. 15, 20. 5; Dan. 6. 3, Ezra 6. 10, 7. 25 f.) or the substance of a command (22. ii. 3 f.). As an alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (*Chrest.* 19. ii. 17; cf. Ezra 6. 8 f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see § 18, note 8 (2).

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5. 19— $\text{נִהְיֶה הָיָה}$ —Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8\*.  $\text{הָיָה}$  joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17. ii. 2, 25. ii. 10; Dan. 6. 4, Ezra 5. 11).  $\text{נִהְיֶה}$  with a passive participle is used as a jussive passive (Dan. 3. 18, Ezra 4. 12, 6. 8 f.); cf. note 6.

9. In PTM, as in Syriac, the perfect of any verb may be slightly strengthened by prefixing to it the perfect of  $\text{הָיָה}$  (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10.  $\text{אֲתָא}$  in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20. ii. 10— $\text{מְרִינְתָּא מִכְּבוֹשׁ מְרִינְתָּא}$  'after (he) had conquered the city').

## § 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ה, ח, ע) and of ר upon the vowels of verbal forms is not as extensive as in Hebrew, but, so far as it goes, is similar in character.

**1\*.** **Pathah** holds the place of normal *ṣere* in the final syllable of all parts of verbs final guttural or resh (Pael, Aphel, partic. Pael, &c.). In the final syllable of imperf. and imperatives Pael pathah is usual, but *ō* also occurs before final resh and final 'ayin, especially in PTM. In OTA pathah is used in all the cases covered by this section. The verbs of §§ 27, 32, and 34 are not included.

**2\*.** In the imperf. Pael **preformative pathah** is used in some verbs (e.g. יַחְבוֹט, יַעֲשׂוּק, יַעֲבִיר), but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA תַּעֲבִירוֹן (twice), יַחְלִפוֹן (once) and יַעֲיֶה or תַּעֲיֶה (thrice), with the imperfect forms of הָיָה (תִּהְיֶה, &c.), are the only Pael imperf. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of יַעֲבִיר equivalent to seghol (hence *Chrest.* 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

**3\*.** Apparently the only **infin. with preformative pathah** is מַעֲבִיר. In OTA the form is מַעֲבִיר (twice) and Dalman follows this analogy in his *Dialektproben* (18. 14, 29. 7).

**4\*.** **Pathah furtive** is used in the pass. partic. Pael of verbs final guttural (שְׁלִיחַ). See also § 32, note 1.

**5\*.** An **intrusive pathah** separates the termination הַ from the stem of verbs final guttural. E. g. הִשְׁתַּבַּחַתְּ (Dan. 5. 27).

**6\*.** Vocal shewa following a guttural in the supralinear punctuation is to be pronounced as the sublinear **hateph** would be. Supralinear pathah in perf. like אָמַר signifies **hateph pathah** and *ṣere* in imperative forms like אִמַּר and עִיֵּבַר signifies **hateph seghol**. See § 2. 7, 8.

**7\*.** An **intrusive hateph** (before vocal shewa an intrusive



pathah) is indicated in some MSS. of OJ after initial *y* and initial *h* in the imperf. and infin. forms of the Peal (Aphel, Shaphel). *יַעֲבִיר* and *מַעֲבִיר* are most frequently so treated. Cf. Judg. 12. 5 (*אַעֲבִיר*) and 16. 24 (*מַחֲרִיב*, Hebraism?). In some MSS. after *y* an intrusive hireq is indicated, in harmony with the hireq of the preformative syllable (Dalman, p. 93; Kahle, p. 223). For forms with intrusive vowels in OTA see note 2.

8\*. In the intensives of verbs medial resh, in which the medial radical is not doubled, the preceding pathah is regularly lengthened into **compensation qames** and, similarly, sometimes before medial *e* or *a*. Examples: *בָּרַיָּה*, *נָעִיל*, *קָאִיב*. In Dan. 5. 9 the sublinear reading is *מִתְבַּהֵּל* and the supralinear is *מִתְבַּהֵּל* (or *מִתְבַּהֵּל*).

9. *a* between two vowels was pronounced yodh (Dalman, p. 60), hence PTM in the inflected forms of the active partic. Peal of verbs medial aleph and in the intensive forms of *שָׁאֵל* and *שָׁאֵר* writes *y* for *a*. PTM *שָׁאֵל* and *שָׁאֵר* = OJ *שָׁאֵל* (Gen. 43. 7—Dalman, p. 305) and *שָׁאֵר*. See also § 33, note 2.

## § 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

נָחַת	סָלַק, סָלִיק	נָסַב, נָסִיב	נָפַק	Pearl	perf.
יִנְחֹת	יָסַק	יָסַב	יָפַק		imperf.
חֹת	סָק	סָב	פֹּק		imperat.
חֹתוּ	סִקוּ	סִבוּ	פִּיקוּ		
מִנְחָת	מָסַק	מָסַב	מָפַק		infin.
מִנְחֹת	מָסֹק	מָסֹב	מָפֹק	PTM	
נָחִית	סָלִיק	נָסִיב	נָפִיק		partic.
אַנְחִית	אַסִּיק		אַפִּיק	Aphel	perf.
יִנְחִית	יָסִיק		יָפִיק		imperf.
אַנְחִית	אַסִּיק		אַפִּיק		imperat.
אַנְחָתָא	אַסִּקָא		אַפִּקָא		infin.
מִנְחִית	מָסִיק		מָפִיק		partic.

**Assimilation.** 1\*. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impff. and inff. Peal and in all the tenses of the Aphel and Ittaphal. Nun and its vowel (shewa) generally disappear in the imperat. Peal.

2\*. In verbs medial ה and medial ך assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, אֲנַחֵרָא). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, יִנְזֹרֶה; Gen. 26. 11, יִנְיֹק).

3\*. The vocalization of verbs medial ה, according to the supralinear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathah is written in the perfect Aphel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote ḥateph pathah (§ 2. 7).

**Peal imperatt. and infinn.** 4\*. The stem vowels of the imperative Peal do not become vocal shewa in the inflected forms, as they do in Hebrew (see table above). Forms with nun preserved sometimes occur in PTM. סִיב (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to סִב.

5. Infinitives like מִפִּק are normal in OJ, and those like מִפּוֹק in PTM.

**Ithp<sup>e</sup>el.** 6. Ithp<sup>e</sup>el forms sometimes assimilate ת of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

סִלִּיק 7\*. In סִלִּיק *l* assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infin. Haphel הִנְסָקָה (Dan. 6. 24) is a case of erroneous dissimilation (cf. § 10, note 12).

**OTA.** 8. So far as examples occur, notes 1–4 apply to OTA. The only verb medial guttural is נִתַּח, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (תִּתַּח), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, אֲתַח or אִתַּח) and partic. (מִתַּחֲתִין), but not in the Hophal (תִּתַּחֲתִי). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נתן (imperf., inf.), נפק (Aphel), and נוק (Aphel). There are two *ē* imperfects, יִפֹּל (as Syriac; OJ יִפּוֹל) and יִנְתֵּן or יִנְתֵּן. For the imperat. שִׂא see § 27, note 10, and for סִלֵּק, note 7.

## § 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

APHEL.		PeAL.		
אֹכִיר	אָל	אָמַר	אָכַל	perf.
יֹכִיר	יָיִל	יָיַמַר	יָיָכֹל	imperf.
אֹכִיר	אֵינִי, אֵינִיל	אֵימַר	אֵיכֹל	imperat.
אֹכִירוּ	אֵינִלוּ	אֵימְרוּ	אֵיכֹלוּ	OJ
אֹכְרוֹן	אֹלֹן	אֹמְרוֹן	אֹכְלוֹן	PTM
אֹכְרָא	מֵינִל	מֵימַר	מֵיכַל	infin.
מוֹכִיר	אֵיִל	אֵמַר	אֵכִיל	partic.

1\*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal and in the Aphel א coalesces with the preformative vowel into  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (אֵכֹל, יֵכֹל, אֹכִיר).

Peal imperf. 2\*. The imperfects Peal, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are יֵמַר, יֵכַר, יֵלֵף, and יֵסַר (but also יֵיסֹר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew holem). יֵכֹל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יֵאֲכַל).

Imperat. 3\*. The supralinear imperatives אֵימַר, אֵיכֹל, &c., although pointed with sere, should probably be pronounced אָמַר, אָכֹל, &c. (§ 2. 8), as in OTA (אָמַר). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ אֵינִיל (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and אֵינִיל (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is אֵינִילִי (Josh. 2. 1, 18. 8). In the singular Berliner's *Onkelos* has both  $\bar{e}$  (Deut. 10. 11) and  $\bar{i}$  (Gen. 22. 2, Exod. 3. 16, 33. 1). In all these forms yodh presumably at first represented a hurried vowel (vocal shewa).

4\*. Some verbs (e.g. אָזַל, אָתַם) use shortened imperatt. Peal as alternatives to the full forms (זָלַל, זָלַל; תָּא, תָּא—in Dalman זָלַל). For the ending  $\bar{o}$  in תָּא see § 29.

5\*. The stem vowel *i* of the imperat. plur. of PTM is indicated in the texts for some words and may have been the stem vowel of all words of this class. The analogy of the imperat. sing. with suffixes points to *i* or *u* (§ 36, note 9). Dalman's pointing אִלִּין and אִלִּין (23. 1) seems unlikely.

**Aphel.** 6\*. Of the Aphels with preformative *ṣere* that occur in PTM only אִיבִּיל, הִימִין and some verbs having both initial א and final א, such as אַתָּא, are recognized by Dalman (p. 298f.) as correct. The salutation אִישֶׁר 'hail' (*Chrest.* 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA הִימִין (§ 16, note 5) and אִיְתִי or אִיְתִי (OTA הִיְתִי, הִיְתִי), from אַתָּא, are used.

**Contracted forms.** 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of אִלֶּף (יִלִּף, מִלְכָּא, מִלִּיף = יִאֲלִיף, &c.). Contracted Ithpēels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. אִתְּמַר = אִתְּמַר and אִתְּמַר = אִתְּמַר). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in אִתְּלִיד, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

**Unusual forms.** 8. יִלֶּף and יִבֶּר (18. ii. 2) are used as alternative forms of אִבֶּר and אִלֶּף (cf. § 23, note 9). יִמָּא (= יִימָר) is a Babylonian form, which occurs in PTM (16. 5). אִבִּילִין (17. ii. 7) seems to have no parallel and may be an error for אִבִּילִין (§ 21, note 7) or אִבִּילִין.

**OTA.** 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the Peal imperf. and infin. (אִבֶּל, מִאֲמַר), except in the cases of מִתָּא and מִוּא, from אַתָּא and אִוּא (§ 27). In the Peal imperat. א is generally followed by ḥaṭeph seghol and in אִלֶּל (Ezra 5. 15) *ṣere* is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and אִוּה, Dan. 3. 22, = אִוּה, pass. ptc. Peal). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has אִבֶּלִי, Strack's supralinear text reads אִבֶּלִי, i.e. אִבֶּלִי (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. הִיבֶּר (Dan. 7. 11) has the same form as the Hophal of verbs initial yodh. See also note 6 and the table of verbs, p. 96.



## § 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

APHEL.	PeAL.			
אֹטִיב	יָרַח	יָחַב	יָדַע	יָכִיל perf.
	יָרִית	יָחִיב		
יֹטִיב	יִירַח	יִיחִיב	יִדַּע	יִכּוֹל imperf.
אֹטִיב	רַח	חִיב	דַּע	— imperat.
אֹטִיבוּ	רַחוּ	חִיבוּ	דַּעוּ	
אֹטָבָא		מָחַב	מָדַע	מָכִיל infin.
	מִירַח	מִיחִיב	מִידַּע	מִיכּוֹל

**Peal prefixes.** 1\*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal yodh coalesces with the preformative vowel into (1)  $\bar{e}$  and (2)  $\check{z}$  followed by the middle radical doubled. In the imperf. tense  $\bar{e}$  is unusual except before a medial guttural or resh (יִירַח, יִיחִיב) and the punctuation of the MSS. cannot always be relied on. Examples: תִּיבֶשׁ (Ezek. 17. 10—Kahle, p. 46), יִיטֵב (Deut. 10. 13—Kahle, p. 15; Ezra 7. 18), יִכּוֹל (Josh. 9. 19, for נְכוֹל 'we are able'), תִּכְלוּן (Josh. 24. 19, for תְּכָלוּן 'you are able'). For OJ forms having shewa as their preformative vowel see note 2.

**Stem vowels.** 2. Imperff. Peal with  $\bar{e}$  as their stem vowel are יָחִיב (OTA יָחַב) and יִיחִיב (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יִלִּיד (Gen. 3. 16) and יִיִרָה (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

**Imperat.** 3\*. The imperatt. Peal are treated like the imperatt. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (יָחִיב, יָחִיב).

**Aphel.** 4\*. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally  $\bar{o}$  (אֹטִיב, אֹטִיב). Where  $\bar{e}$  occurs in the MSS. it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 307 f.). Dalman recognizes אִילִּיל in OJ and אִיחִיב and אִיחִיר as possibly correct in PTM אִיכִיל occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5\*. In OJ הוֹדַע is used for אֹדַע and the uncontracted forms יְהוֹדַע

and מְהוֹרַע more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

**Shaphel.** 6. The Shaphel שִׁיב (OTA שִׁיב) 'rescue' has no Peal in use (? = שִׁעִיב). סוּבַל (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of יבַל, with ס as in some Syriac forms. For שִׁיַּי (? from יִצֵּא) see § 27, note 8.

**Ithp<sup>e</sup>el.** 7. For elision of yodh in Ithp<sup>e</sup>el forms see § 25, note 7.

**יִהָב.** 8. In PTM forms with elided ה are used (e.g. יִהָבִית = יְהִיבִית, *Chrest.* 29. 8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of נָתַן take the place of the corresponding parts of יִהָב and are the only parts of נָתַן in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to יִיָּהָב or יִיָּהִיב and מִיָּהָב.

**OTA.** 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In Peal perff. and imperff. the stem vowel *î* corresponds to OJ *e* (יָתַב; יָכַל; יָתַב). In the imperf. Peal preformative *ẓ* and *ē* both occur (יָזַב; יָזַב). יָדַע is always, erroneously, dissimilated to יָנַדַע (seven times). The normal Haphel form is like הוֹתַב (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (הוֹסַף) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

## § 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITPHE <sup>L</sup> EL.	APHEL.	PAEL.	PeAL.	
אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	חַוִּי	חַוֵּא	perf.
אֶתְחַוֵּא	אֶתְחַוֵּא	אֶתְחַוֵּא				
יֶתְחַוִּי	יֶתְחַוִּי	יֶתְחַוִּי	יֶתְחַוִּי	יֶחַוִּי	יֶחַוִּי	imperf.
	יֶתְחַוֵּא					
אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	חַוִּי	חַוִּי	imperat.
אֶתְחַוֵּא	אֶתְחַוֵּא	אֶתְחַוֵּא	אֶתְחַוֵּא	חַוֵּא	מַחַוִּי	infin.
מִתְחַוִּי	מִתְחַוִּי	מִתְחַוִּי	מִתְחַוִּי	מַחַוִּי		PTM
מִתְחַוֵּי	מִתְחַוֵּי	מִתְחַוֵּי	מִתְחַוֵּי	מַחַוֵּי	חַוִּי	act. ptc.
מִתְחַוֵּא				מַחַוֵּא	חַוִּי	pass. ptc.
				מַחַוִּי		PTM

**Final vowels of stem.** 1\*. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into  $\bar{z}$  or  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{\alpha}$ .  $\bar{a}$  occurs only in the perfect Peal (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6).  $\bar{\alpha}$  comes from  $ai$  (cf. § 13, note 2) and the forms of the paradigm in which it is found seem to be peculiar to OJ (see, however, note 6). In OJ and PTM the distinctive orthography  $\text{הָוִה}$  is more common, in this verb, than  $\text{הָוִא}$  (cf.  $\text{הָוִא}$ ).

2\*. Intransitive perfects Peal ending in  $\bar{z}$  in OJ are:  $\text{שָׁתִּי}$ ,  $\text{סָגִי}$ ,  $\text{חָרִי}$ ,  $\text{צָבִי}$ , &c.  $\text{שָׁתִּי}$  (or  $\text{אֲשָׁתִּי}$ , with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA  $\text{שָׁתִּי}$  (or  $\text{אֲשָׁתִּי}$ ) and  $\text{צָבִי}$  occur.

3. Where  $\bar{z}$  appears in the final syllable of imperfects, it may be regarded as due to scribal error (Dalman).

4\*. In Yemenite MSS. Peal imperatt. of the form  $\text{הָוִי}$  are corrections of  $\text{הָוִי}$  under the influence of Hebrew (Diettrich, *ZATW.*, xx, p. 151).

**Infin. forms.** 5\*. In OJ the third radical of feminine infin. is written aleph but pronounced yodh (cf. § 23, note 9). The writing of yodh twice in forms like  $\text{מְחַיִּי}$ , &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS.  $\text{ה}$  is used in PTM less frequently than  $\text{א}$  to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

6. In OJ an infin. Peal of the form  $\text{מְחַיִּי}$  is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form  $\text{מְחַיִּי}$  may have been pronounced  $\text{מְחַיִּי}$ , from  $\text{מְחַיִּי}$ . In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points  $\bar{a}$  in the final syllable ( $\text{לְמַחְמֵא}$ ).

**Pass. partic.** 7\*. The passive partic. Peal is sometimes pointed with final  $\bar{z}$  by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25. 10, Josh. 7. 10).

**Shaphel.** 8. The Shaphel form  $\text{שִׁיבִי}$  'complete', may be derived from  $\text{אֲשִׁיבִי}$ . For the  $\bar{e}$  of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

**OTA.** 9. The vocalic endings of the uninflected forms of the perff., imperff., and participles of OTA are  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{z}$ , and  $\bar{e}$ , as in

OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is  $\bar{i}$  (הִתְנַבֵּי) and in יִתְקַרֵּי (Dan. 5. 12). In other cases—when the final vowel is  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$ —א or ה is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: בָּעָא and בָּעָה; יִבְעָא; מִבְעָא; בָּעָא and בָּעָה; בָּנִה. For the form אָוֶה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is שִׁיִּצִּיא, the Qere שִׁיִּצִּי or שִׁצִּי.

10. There are three examples of a 2 s. m. imperat. in OTA, one Pael (מְנִי, Ezra 7. 25, for מְנִי) and two Peals (חִיִּי, in Dan. 2. 4, &c., and נִשָּׂא, Ezra 5. 15, from נִשָּׂא).

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (הִשְׁתַּנֶּה, &c). There are, however, supralinear and other MSS. in which aleph is read, as in OJ, by the Qere (see Strack's notes on Daniel 2. 10 and 6. 9).

12. The forms קָרִי (Ezra 4. 18, 23) and גָּלִי (Dan. 2. 30) or גָּלִי (Dan. 2. 19) and the plural רְמִי (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Peils (§ 16, note 11).

## § 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(perfect tenses)

APHEL.		PeAL.		PeAL.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
	אֶחָוִי		שְׁתִּי		חָזָא 3 s. m.
אֶחָוִית	אֶחָוִיָּא	שְׁתִּית	שְׁתִּיָּא		חָזָא f.
	אֶחָוִיתָא ת-		שְׁתִּיתָא ת-		חָזִיתָא 2 s. m.
	אֶחָוִית		שְׁתִּית		חָזִית f.
	אֶחָוִיתִי ת-		שְׁתִּיתִי ת-		חָזִיתִי 1 s. com.
אֶחָוִין	אֶחָוִיָּא	שְׁתִּין	שְׁתִּיָּא	חָזִין	חָזָא 3 pl. m.
אֶחָוִין	אֶחָוִיָּא	—	שְׁתִּיָּא	חָזִין	חָזָא f.
	אֶחָוִיתִין		שְׁתִּיתִין		חָזִיתִין 2 pl. m.
	אֶחָוִיתִין		שְׁתִּיתִין		חָזִיתִין f.
אֶחָוִינִין	אֶחָוִיָּא	שְׁתִּינִין	שְׁתִּיָּא	חָזִינִין	חָזִיָּא 1 pl. com.



**Endings.** 1\*. The OJ plural terminations י (3 masc.) and תוֹן (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Peal only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM *ōn* and *tūn* (?) and extends the use of *ōn* to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

2\*. The distinctive endings תָּ and תִּ occur frequently in OJ and to a less extent in PTM. In OTA the endings of the 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. are תָּ and תִּ respectively, and there is no example of 2 s. f.

**3rd radical.** 3\*. Before all consonantal endings the third radical of these verbs coalesces with the preceding stem vowel into *ē* or *ī*, as shown in the table. In *ī* perfects the reading *ē*, for *ī*, by Yemenite MSS. is due to late correctors (Diettrich, *ZATW.*, vol. xx, p. 151 f.).

4\*. In the 3 s. f. of *ī* perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (וְנִית, 18. 3; שָׁרִית, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (אֶתְכָּרִית, Dan. 7. 15, and הִיתִית, Dan. 6. 18). In MT these two forms follow two different systems of punctuation. One of the MSS. used by Strack supplies the variant reading הִיתִית. In PTM אחוּיית and אחוּיין are unvocalized forms for אֶחְיוּית (?) or אֶחְיוּית and אֶחְיוּן. In OJ א appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all *ī* perfects.

5. In PTM forms of the 3 s. f. and 3 pl. m. perf. Peal, with consonantal yodh retained, sometimes occur. Presumably they were pronounced like חֲיוּית and חֲיוּיין respectively (§ 17). Dalman's pointing of חֲמִיית (22. 19) and בָּעִיית (27. 2) seems to follow the analogy of the OTA (Hophal) form הִיתִית (note 4). In OTA the Kethibh preserves one 3 s. f. perf. Peal with consonantal yodh (מָטִית, Dan. 4. 21).

**OTA.** 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes *ī* in *ī* perfects (מִנִּית), *ai* in the 2 s. m.

of ordinary perff. Peal (בָּנִיתָ) and in בָּנִיתָה or בָּנִיתִה ‘I have built it’ (Dan. 4. 27), *ē* in other forms (בָּנִיתָ, בָּנִיתָה). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. Peal the forms בָּנִיתָ and בָּנִיתָה are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints בָּנִיתָה. In other respects the 3 s. f. of perfect tenses agrees with PTM (see notes 4 and 5). There is no example in OTA of a pl. fem. perf.

8. In one 3 pl. m. form (הִיתָיו, § 31, note 6) consonantal yodh is retained and the vocalization is that of the normal verb (§ 17). With this exception the 3 pl. m. is like that of OJ (בָּעוּ), with a variation of orthography in the *ī* perfects (שָׁפְטוּ, אֲשָׁפְטוּ), which is also found in some MSS. of OJ (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 92). In Dan. 6. 17 and 6. 25 Strack’s supralinear text reads הִיתָיו. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is הִתְיַתְּ (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read הִתְיַתְּוּ.

9. Baer’s reading of seghol for šere in the final syllable of pausal imperff. Pael and Haphel (Dan. 2. 4, 7, 24 and 5. 12) is not accepted by Strack.

## § 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

PeAL.			
PLURAL.	SINGULAR.		IMPERFECT.
	PTM	OJ	
יִחְזֹן		יִחְזִי	3 masc.
יִחְזִי		יִחְזִי	fem.
יִחְזֹן		יִחְזִי	2 masc.
יִחְזִי	יִחְזִי	יִחְזִי	fem.
	יִחְזִי		
יִחְזִי		יִחְזִי	1 com.

PTM APHEL. OJ		PTM P <sup>e</sup> AL. OJ		IMPERATIVE.
	אָחֹי		חֹי	2 s. m.
אָחֹי	אָחֹי	חֹי	חֹי	f.
אָחֹי	אָחֹי	חֹי	חֹי	2 pl. m.
—	—	—	חֹי	f.

**Imperff.** 1\*. The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination *ōn* is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to PTM. The 2. s. f. endings in PTM are read by Dalman (p. 339) as *ain* and *ai* respectively. תַּחֲיוּן might be understood to signify תַּחֲיוּן (§ 2. 1).

2\*. Consonantal yodh is retained by OJ and PTM in the 2 and 3 plur. fem. of all imperfects (cf. OTA לְהַיּוּן, Dan. 5. 17). For the 2 s. f. in PTM see note 1.

3. Forms like אָחֹי (given in Dalman's paradigm) sometimes occur for אָחֹי (Gen. 24. 14, Merx), but are characteristic of the later Yemenite MSS. (§ 18, note 3).

**Imperat.** 4\*. The PTM imperative ending *ōn* is got by analogy from the *ō* of OJ and OTA. The 2 s. f. ending *ai* is shortened from *ain* and is the only ending of which Dalman gives examples from PTM. In OJ *ā* = *ai* (cf. § 27, note 1). The 2 plur. fem. form occurs in 2 Sam. 1. 24 (בַּכֹּהֶן).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples : אֶשֶׁר (P<sup>e</sup>al—Gen. 24. 14), שֵׁי (P<sup>a</sup>el—Gen. 24. 2), אֶעֱרֶה or אֶעֱרֶה (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

6\*. The 2 s. m. imperat. of the derived stems is the same as the 3 s. m. perf. in OJ and PTM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in PTM and the P<sup>e</sup>al imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

**Infinn.** 7. Infinitives of the form מִשְׁתַּיִץ are found in PTM. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, מִבְּנִיָּה.

8. P<sup>e</sup>al infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that נ<sub>-</sub> is used for *ai* as the suffix of the 1st singular and that ה<sub>-</sub> is employed for נה<sub>-</sub>. Examples: מְחַוֵּה, מְחַוֵּה. PTM has forms like מְחַמֵּינִיה or מְחַמֵּינִיה (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (מְצַבֵּיה, Dan. 4. 32).

9. Infinitives of the derived stems with suffixes retain the third radical in OJ (אֲשַׁקִּינִיהָ, Gen. 24. 9) and are treated like feminine nouns of the F class (§ 12, note 9) in PTM (e. g. מְמַנִּיתִיה from the Pael infinitive מְמַנֵּי).

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperatt. in OTA, so far as examples are found, are the same as in OJ (cf. notes 1, 2, and 4). There is no case of a feminine imperat. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form יִשְׁתַּנּוּ (Dan. 5. 10), with *ō* for *ōn*, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

## § 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(inflexion of participles)

PAEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	
<i>Active plc.</i>	<i>Pass. plc.</i>	<i>Act. plc.</i>	
מְבַפֵּי	בָּפִי	בָּפִי	Sing. m.
מְבַפֵּיָא	בָּפִיָא	בָּפִיָא	f.
מְבַפֵּין , מְבַפֵּין	בָּפִין , בָּפִין	בָּפִין , בָּפִין	Plur. m.
מְבַפֵּין	בָּפִין	בָּפִין	f.

1\*. In the feminine singular and plural of participles consonantal yodh is always retained and in the masc. plural the ending is *ain* in OTA and usually in PTM. In OJ the masc. plural ending is always *ān*, and this form also occurs in PTM.

2\*. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination *ewān* (§ 8, note 11). Examples: רֹעִין, from רָעִי 'shepherd', and אֲסִין, from אָסִי 'physician'.



3\*. In the inflected forms, when the middle radical is a guttural or a doubled consonant, the supralinear MSS. regularly indicate vocal shewa before consonantal yodh (רַעֲיָא, מַחֲפִינִי). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Peal passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4\*. Words like קָוִי with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination  $\bar{e}$  as with a plural ending (מַחֲוִהִי, Deut. 25. 11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained ((בְּרִיָּה, 25. ii. 8, from בְּרִי), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ קָנִי always retains א with suffixes (Gen. 14. 20, Exod. 20. 5, Deut. 5. 9, 7. 15, 30. 7, 2 Sam. 19. 7, 22. 18, Jer. 49. 7). So also שְׁנֵאָה, Dan. 4. 16, which is the only example of a suffixed form of these participles in OTA.

5. Examples of tense forms like those of § 21, note 7, are הָוִינָא (26. 6), fem. שְׂרִינָא (Dalman, p. 352), מִשְׁקִית (Deut. 11. 10—Kahle, p. 16), בְּעִינִי (29. 25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like הָוִינָא in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31.<sup>1</sup> הִלֵּךְ, חָיָא, הָוָה, אָתָא

APHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	APHEL.	PeAL.	
אָחִי	חָיָא	הָוָה	אָחִי, אִיתִי	אָתָא	perf.
			אִיתִיאוּ, אִיתִיאוּ	אָתוּ	
יָחִי	יִיחִי	יָהִי, יִהְיֶה	יִיחִי	יִיחִי	imperf.
		יִהְיוּ, יִהְיוּ	יִיתוּ	יִיתוּ	
	חִי	הִי	אִיתָא	אִיתָא	imperat.
			אִיתוּ	אִיתוּ	
אָחָא		מָחִי	אִיתָא	מִיתִי	infin.
			מִיתִי		PTM
מָחִי	חִי	הִי	מִיתִי	אָתִי	partic.

<sup>1</sup> To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

1. Several verbs, having stems with both initial aleph and final aleph or yodh, are treated like אָתָא (אָבָא, אָזָא, אָסָא, אָפָא). Of these only אָתָא has a shortened imperat. form (§ 25, note 4).

2. The imperf. and imperat. Peal and Aphel of אָתָא are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). מִיָּתִי is both infin. Peal and partic. Aphel.

**Imperat.** 3. In the imperat. Peal the OJ supralinear form אִיתָא is equivalent to אָתָא (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original *ai*. In PTM אִיתִי (24. ii. 13), אָתָא (אִיתָא, 22. ii. 8), and תָּא (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner's *Onkelos*  $\bar{i}$  is written in אִיתָא, אִיתוֹ, &c. (cf. אִיִּיל). The final vowel of אִיתָא may be corrected into  $\check{a}$  (similarly in the case of אִיתָא, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. Peal of אָתָא is אִיתָא (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or אִתִּי (*Chrest.* 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. אִיתִיאוּ (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

5. *μαρναθά* (1 Cor. 16. 22) is explained by Dalman (p. 152, note 3) as being מָרְנָא תָּא 'Come, our Lord'. WH and von Soden both divide the word into *μαρὰν ἄθα*.

**OTA.** 6. For אָתָא see table at the end of this section. The OTA passive forms הִיתִית (Dan. 6. 18) and הִיתִי (Dan. 3. 13) are explained as Hophal forms = הִיתִית (3 s. f. perf.) and הִיתִי (3 pl. m. perf.) respectively (Strack).

**הוה.** 7. In OJ the longer forms of the imperf. Peal of הָיָה are used only in the plural and (as alternatives) along with אִיהִי or אִהִי in the 1 sing. In PTM short and long forms are used indifferently and both אִיהִי and יִי occur. For PTM לִהְיִי and OTA לִהְיִי, &c., see § 18, note 6. The 3 sing. fem. impf. in OTA is תִּהְיֶה or תִּהְיֶה. No shortened forms occur in OTA.

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the Peal imperf. of הָיָה are written יִהִי and יִהוֹן, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

חָיָא. 9. In the verb חָיָא the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) Pael and in all parts of the Aphel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also יָהִי and Hebrew יְהִי. For OTA see table below.

הִלַּךְ. 10. In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of הִלַּךְ elide the medial l and assume the forms יָהֲרֹךְ (plur. יָהֲרֹכִין) and מָהֲרֹךְ respectively (cf. סָלִיק, § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only Pael forms (cf. OTA מָהֲלֹךְ). The imperf. and infin. Pael also sometimes occur in OJ.

HAPHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	HAPHEL.	PeAL.	OTA
		הָוָא, הָוָה	הִיתִי	אָתָא, אָתָא	perf.
		הָוֹ	הִיתִיו	אָתוּ	
		לְהָוָא			imperf.
		לְהָוֹן			
	חָיִי				imperat.
		הָוֹ		אָתוּ	
			הִיתִיָּה (הִיתִיָּה)	מָתָא	infin.
מָחָא				אָתָה	partic.

## § 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ו)

ITTAPHAL.	ITHPeEL.		APHEL.	PeAL.	
	PTM	OJ AND PTM			
אָתָקָם	אָתָקִים	אָתָקָם	אָתָקִים	קָם	perf.
אָתוֹקָם					PTM
יָתָקָם	יָתָקִים	יָתָקָם	יָתָקִים	יָקִים	imperf.
—	אָתָקִים	אָתָקָם	אָתָקִים	קִים	imperat.
—	—	אָתָקְמָא	אָתָקְמָא	מָקָם	infin.
		מָתָקְמָא	מָתָקְמָא	מָקוֹם	PTM
מָתָקָם	מָתָקִים	מָתָקָם	מָתָקִים	קָאִים	partic. act.
				קִים	partic. pass.

**Stem vowels.** 1. The stem vowels of the Peal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfects in  $\bar{i}$**  are מִית 'die', סִיב 'be old', and רִיר 'spit'. **Imperfects in  $\bar{e}$**  are יָבִית, יָסִים, and יָרִין (or יָרִין) from בָּת 'pass the night', קָם 'place', and דָּן 'judge'. **Verbs final guttural** generally have  $\bar{z}$  in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. יָנִיחַ), but יָע 'shake' has imperf. יָוִיעַ and imperat. יָע (plur. יָעוּ). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed  $\bar{z}$  in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperf. in  $\bar{e}$  have **imperatives in  $\bar{i}$**  (בִּית, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

2\*. In supralinear MSS. the Aphel stem vowel  $\bar{e}$  (perf. and imperat.) is sometimes written  $\bar{i}$  and the stem vowel  $\bar{i}$  (imperf. and partic.) is sometimes written  $\bar{e}$ . The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Aphel with pronominal suffixes appears to be normally  $\bar{i}$  (אֶקִּימָהּ, Josh. 24. 26; Gen. 47. 7, Num. 27. 22; Dan. 3. 1, 5. 11).

**Preformative vowels.** 3. The preformative vowels of the Peal are sometimes treated according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34), so that forms like יָקִים and יִיחִים, מָקָם and מִיחִים occur. Examples: יָפֹות, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), יָתִיב, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), יִיחִים, Exod. 12. 23.

4\*. The preformative vowel of the imperf., imperat., infin., and partic. Aphel is often written  $\bar{a}$  in supralinear MSS. Examples: אֶתְבָּא (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), אֶגָּח (Judg. 1. 1), אֶנַּח (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), אֶקִּים (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), מֶנַּח (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative  $\bar{a}$  occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יֶהְקִים (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and מֶהְקִים (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is  $\bar{o}$ .

5\*. When supralinear pathah is written in the perfect and imperative Aphel instead of preformative vocal shewa, it may be understood to denote vocal shewa (§ 2. 7), rather than to indicate a form according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34).

**Ithpeel.** 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithpeel is sometimes



written *ā* (אֶתְנַח, Judg. 5. 20) and the ת of the preformative syllable may become ו before initial ו (hence אֶתְנַח = אֶתְנַח).

**Intensives.** 7\*. The intensive forms in use are קָיִים, קָיִים (OJ supralinear), קוֹיִים, קָיִים (OJ supralinear), and קָמִים. The passive of the Palpel is like מְטַלְטֵל (Gen. 4. 12) or מְטַלְטֵל (Gen. 4. 16).

**Verbs medial waw.** 8\*. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are הוֹר, עוֹר, צוֹח, רוֹח, רוֹ 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, הוֹה, שׁוֹא, &c.

**OTA.** 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the PeAL and HAPHEL are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Haphel the stem vowel *ī* occurs as an alternative to *ē* (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) *ē* occurs as an alternative to *ī*. Preformative ḥaṭeph seghol occurs in one Haphel form in most (?) MSS. (הֶקִּימָה, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHPeEL is *ā* in one verb (יִתְשֹׁם) and *ī* in another (יִתְיוֹן). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are קָיִים (Dan. 6. 8), מְרוֹיִם (Dan. 4. 34) and הִתְרוֹמְמָה (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, הִקְיַם (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form שִׁמַּת (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written שִׁמַּת (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

APHEL.		PeAL.		
<i>Imperat.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	<i>Partic.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	
אֶקֶם	אֶקֶם	קָמִים, קָיִים	מִית	קָם
אֶקִּימִי	אֶקִּימַת	קִימָא	מִיתַת	קִמַּת
	אֶקִּימַתְּ-תָא		מִיתַתְּ-תָא	קִמַּתְּ-תָא
	...		...	...
אֶקִּימוּ	אֶקִּימוּ	קִימִין	מִיתוּ	קִמוּ
אֶקִּימָא	אֶקִּימָא	קִימֶן	(מִיתָא ?)	קִמָּא

**Peal perff.** 1\*. The forms of the table are those of the supra-linear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. Peal is  $\bar{a}$  only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA  $\bar{a}$  is the stem vowel throughout the perf. Peal, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his *Dialektproben*. The inflected forms of מִית are treated like those of perfects in şere.

**Particc.** 2\*. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected participle Peal has the form of verbs medial aleph. In the inflected forms yodh is written for aleph in both OJ and PTM. In OTA the inflected forms have נ in the Kethibh and י in the Qere, except in נִצְמִיָּן (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain נ in OJ and sometimes in PTM (1 Sam. 8. 10, 1 Kings 2. 20; *Chrest.*, 20. 14). Cf. § 23, note 9, and Dalman, p. 305.

**OTA.** 3. In OTA the termination of the 1 s. pf. is  $\text{eth}$  (שָׁמַת, Ezra 6. 12; הִקְיַמַת, Dan. 3. 14). For the form יִחִיטוּ (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

### § 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

APHEL.		PeAL.	
אֲעִיל	אֲבִין	עֵל	בִּין (בִּין) perf.
יֵעִיל	יֵבִין	יֵעוּל	יֵבוּ imperf.
אֲעִיל	אֲבִין	עוּל	בוּ imperat.
אֲעָלָא	אֲבָנָא	מִיעֵל	מִבוּ infin.
מֵעִיל	מֵבִין	עֲלִיל	בִּוּי paruc. act.
מַעֵל	מַבֵּן	עֲלִיל	בִּוּי ptc. pass.

**Disyllabic stems.** 1\*. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithpeels, and Shaphels. Examples: מִלִּיל, אֲתַבִּין, שִׁכְלִיל. See also § 35, note 4.

2\*. The intensive forms are of the types עֲלִיל, עוֹלִיל (especially PTM), עָלִיל (OJ), and עֲלֵעִיל. עֲיִיל is borrowed from the ע"י stems (§ 32). The use of עֲלִיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מְקַצֵּין (25. 4) is the passive participle of this form.

**Stem vowels.** 3\*. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Peal, which is pathah in Syriac and OTA, is always  $\bar{a}$  in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is either  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{a}$  (יִיחַם, יִבּוֹז).

**Preform. vowels.** 4\*. The imperf., imperat., and infin. Peal and all the tenses of the Aphel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infin. Peal preformative  $\check{z}$  is lengthened to  $\bar{e}$  before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (יְרוֹק, Lev. 15. 8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (מִחֵן, Dan. 4. 24; תִּירַע, Dan. 2. 40).

**Participles.** 5. In PTM the participle form עֲיִיל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of עָלִיל. In OJ contracted plurals like עֲלִין, for עֲלִיִן, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA עֲלִין (Kethibh) is replaced by עֲלִין or עֲלִין or עֲלִין (Dan. 4. 4, 5. 8).

6. Aphel participles like מִיקַל and מִיִּצֵן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

7. מְעַלָּה (25. 5), from מַעַל, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מְקַיִלִין (23. 8) see § 21, note 6.

**Borrowed forms.** 8\*. The forms appropriate to ע"י stems (§ 32) are transferred to verbs of this class in the cases named in notes 2, 3, and 5, and in others also (e.g. in Judg. 6. 26 תִּקּוֹן = תִּקּוֹיִן).

**Ittaphal.** 9. The Ittaphal forms are like אִתְּעַל and אִתְּחַל.

**OTA.** 10. For the PeAL perf. see note 3, and for the only examples of imperf. infin. and partic. see notes 4 and 5. There are three types of INTENSIVES in OTA: מִלֵּל (three verbs), מְרַעַע (Dan. 2. 40), and אֲשַׁתּוּמִם (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative

pathah becomes seghol before ע (הַעֲלֶה, Dan. 5. 7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (הִנְעֵל, Dan. 2. 25, 6. 19, and הִנְעָלָה, Dan. 4. 3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (הַעֵל).

## § 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(inflected forms)

APHEL.		P <sup>e</sup> AL.	
PERFECT.		PERFECT.	
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
אַעִילוּ	אַעִיל	עֲלוּ (עָלוּ)	עָל (עָל)
אַעִילֵא	אַעִילָה	עֲלֵא	עָלָה
אַעִילוּתָא	אַעִילוּתָא-תָא	עֲלוּתָא	עָלוּתָא-תָא
אַעִילוּתִין	אַעִילוּתִין	עֲלוּתִין	עָלוּתִין
אַעִילוּתָא	אַעִילוּתִין	עֲלוּתָא	עָלוּתִין
IMPERFECT.		IMPERFECT.	
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
יַעֲלוּ	יַעִיל	יַעֲלוּ	יַעִיל
תַּעֲלוּ	תַּעִיל	תַּעֲלוּ	תַּעִיל
נַעֲלוּ	נַעִיל	נַעֲלוּ	נַעִיל
IMPERATIVE.		IMPERATIVE.	
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
אַעִילוּ	אַעִיל	עֲלוּ	עָל
אַעִילֵא	אַעִילִי	עֲלֵא	עָלִי

1\*. Following Dalman's precedent, and in accordance with the analogy of OTA, the final radical has been doubled in the above table, before vocalic endings, in the P<sup>e</sup>al perfect and imperative, but not in the Aphel. In Berliner's *Onkelos* doubling is not indicated in any tense.



2\*. In the 3 pl. m. perf. Peal the stem vowel  $\bar{a}$  (appropriate to ע"ע stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for  $\check{a}$ . The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. Peal in OTA is treated in this way (דָּקִין, Dan. 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

3. Supralinear pathah in imperf. forms like יִיעָלוּ (Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, p. 15) may be regarded as representing ḥaṭeph pathah (§ 2. 7).

4. Peal and Aphel forms like רַקַּקַּת (PTM), עַלְלַת (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and תַּטְּלַל (Dan. 4. 9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

OTA. 5. The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative PeAL the stem vowel is  $\bar{o}$  (גָּדִי, Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (הָעָלִי, Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel ( $\bar{e}$ ) becomes vocal shewa, it is written ḥaṭeph seghol in some MSS. (מִדְּקָה, Dan. 7. 7, 19, תִּדְּקַנְיָה, Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יִהְיֶיטוּ (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for יִהְיֶיטוּ (cf. § 2. 8, 9). But the tense, termination (§ 18, note 7) and possibly stem vowel (cf. § 34, note 8) are all abnormal. There is no other example of the 3 plur. imperf. Haphel of an ע"ע verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for הִדְּקַת or הִדְּקַת (Dan. 2. 34, 45), § 17, note 6.

### § 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

1\*. For the various forms of the accusative suffixes see pp. 90–91. In PTM the suffixes added to verbal stems ending in a consonant are those of § 4 and the suffixes added to stems ending in a vowel are presumably those of § 12, note 2, although the only possible vocalic stem is the 2 sing. fem. perf. (for the 2 s. m. and the 3 pl. see notes 3 and 5). In OJ the variations from the suffixes of §§ 4 and 12 are in the 1 singular, יְ or יֵ\_ for  $\bar{i}$ , and in the 3 plural,

where the independent pronoun אֲנִי is substituted for הוּן (וּן). For the forms of the suffixes added to the 3 s. f. perf. see note 6. In OJ, in agreement with the Hebrew text, the suffix of the 2 plural is rarely found. It seems never to occur with a 3 sing. masc. perf. stem.

2\*. In OJ אֲנִי is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, א being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to נִי with the 3 s. f. perf. and to ין in union with stems ending in a vowel (שָׁלַחְתִּינִי, שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ, שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before אֲנִי except in the 1 s. perf., in which פָּתַחְתָּ, פָּתַחְתְּ and אֲפַתַּחְתָּ are used for פָּתַחְתָּ, &c.

3\*. The difference between PTM and OJ in the endings of the 3 plur. perf. and 2 plur. imperat. involves a further difference in the suffixes attached to these forms. PTM uses the suffixes appropriate to the consonantal ending *ān*, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending *ā*. Examples: אֲפָקוּיָה (25. ii. 2), אֲפָקוּהִי (Gen. 19. 16).

**Perfect 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m.** 4. For the stem forms of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes see paradigm, p. 90. Pael perfects are treated like Aphels. In the suffixed forms of the perfects Pael and Aphel the final stem vowel generally becomes vocal shewa both in the 3 sing. and the 3 plural (אֲפָקוּהִי, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, אֲמַלִּיכוּנִי, 21. 1, אֲמַלִּיכוּנִי).

OJ plural forms are sometimes found in PTM (26. 8, נִצְחִיךְ). Sometimes the vowel points in Dalman's *Dialektproben* are unnecessarily those of OJ, instead of being those of PTM. In 21. ii. 7 יְהִיבוּנִי should be יְהִיבוּנִי, and in 28. 5 אֲרַפּוּנִי should be אֲרַפּוּנִי.

**2 sing. and 1 sing.** 5. In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like פָּתַחְתָּ, &c. The 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. com. with suffixes of the 3 s. m. or 3 pl. (where

ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form  $\text{פְּתַבְתָּ}$  for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like  $\text{אֶשְׁבְּחֶתָּה}$  'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use.  $\text{שְׁבַקְתָּנִי}$  (Gen. 31. 28) =  $\sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\chi\theta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  (Matt. 27. 46), having a suffix of the first person, can only mean 'thou hast forsaken me'. In PTM the 2 s. m. is clearly distinguished from the 1 sing. com. by its employment of the termination *inn* (note 8) before suffixes ( $\text{שְׁבַקְתָּנִי}$ ,  $\text{אֶשְׁבְּחֶתָּה}$ ). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination  $\bar{i}$  before suffixes ( $\text{אֶשְׁבְּחֶתִּיָּהּ}$ ).

**3 s. f.**      **6\*.** The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. ( $\text{מְלַכְתִּיהָ}$  'she counselled him', Judg. 1. 14). All the cases noted by Praetorius (Judg. 1. 14) are forms in which the suffix is 3 s. m. The unambiguous forms are :  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּנִי}$ ,  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּנָא}$ ,  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּכוֹן}$ ,  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּנוֹן}$  ;  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּךְ}$ ,  $\text{שְׁלַחְתִּיהָ}$ ,  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּהּ}$ .

**1 plur. and 2 plur.**      **7.** The suffixed stem of the 1 plur. perf. in OJ is the same as the independent stem, but written without  $\aleph$  ( $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּהּ}$ ). Instead of  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּהּ}$  the form  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּהּ}$  is used. In PTM the forms  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּהּ}$ , &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains  $\text{ת}$  as derived from the accus. particle  $\text{יָת}$  (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּו}$  in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like  $\text{שְׁלַחְתָּוִן}$  in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

**Imperf. stems.**      **8\*.** The stems of imperfects with suffixes are treated similarly in OJ and PTM. The syllable *inn* is added to the stems of all imperfects (cf. Hebrew  $\text{יַעֲבֹדְנִי}$ ), except in OJ before the 3 plur. masc. suffix. The suffixes are the same as those added to perfect stems. (See paradigm, p. 90 f.). The orthography  $\text{יְרַדְּפִנִּין}$  for  $\text{יְרַדְּפִנִּין}$  and  $\text{יְרַדְּפִנִּין}$  for  $\text{יְרַדְּפִנִּין}$  in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Diettrich in *ZATW.* xx. 152).

**Imperat. stems.**      **9.** In OJ singular imperative stems with suffixes remain unchanged and the suffixes are those of § 12, except in the cases of the 1 sing. and 3 plural. In PTM the Pael and

Aphel singular imperat. stems with suffixes are identical with the corresponding perfect stems. The Pael imperat. stem is distinguished from its perfect by the vowels *ĩ* or *ĩ* following the initial radical. These vowels are sometimes indicated in the MSS. by yodh and waw respectively.

The imperative plural stem in OJ is like **בְּתָבִי** and in PTM like **בְּתָבִין** (see paradigm, p. 91). Pael and Aphel perfect and imperative plural forms are generally not distinguishable. The Aphel imperat. in OJ occasionally retains its final stem vowel (e. g. **אַפְיָקִיָּהָא** 'bring her out' = **אַפְיָקִיָּהָא**).

**י"ע stems.** 10\*. The forms of י"ע verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

**Syntax.** 11. The use of an anticipative pronominal suffix before a definite accusative governed by a verb, an idiom characteristic of Syriac, is found occasionally in OJ (Gen. 39. 15, **שָׁבַקְתִּיהָ לְבִשְׁתִּיהָ לְיָדַי** 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, **פָּקְדִיָּהָא לְשִׁלְיָהָא** 'he ordered the messenger'; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by **ܕ** is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, **אַשְׁכַּחִיהָ דִּהּוּהָ מֻבֵּין** 'he found that he had been selling'). It is idiomatic to put the subject of such a dependent clause into the principal sentence as an object (16. ii. 11, **חָמָא לְהַהוּא דִּנְבִין דִּקְאִים בְּתַרִּיהָ** 'he saw that the buyer was standing behind him').

13. Occasionally the object pronoun of the 3 plural is used indefinitely for 'some people' (28. 4, **חָמָתוֹן קָטְלִין** 'he saw some men killing' (mice); for the verbal stem **חָמָת** see § 37, note 1).

### § 37.<sup>1</sup> VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH ל"א STEMS

**Perf. 3 s. m.** 1. In PTM the termination of 3 s. m. of all perfects with suffixes is treated like the ending of a feminine noun

<sup>1</sup> To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.



(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: הִמָּלִיכָהּ and הִמָּלִיכָהּ (or הִמָּלִיכָהּ), אִתְּמַלֵּךְ, אִתְּמַלֵּךְ. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Peal הִמָּלִיכָהּ is always ambiguous, 'he saw him' or 'she saw him' (note 5).

**2.** In OJ the 3 s. m. perf. Peal with suffixes either retains (consonantal) א (הִמָּלִיכָהּ, הִמָּלִיכָהּ, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (הִמָּלִיכָהּ, הִמָּלִיכָהּ). With אִתְּמַלֵּךְ the suffixed forms are like הִמָּלִיכָהּ.

**3 s. m. and 3 pl. m.** **3.** In OJ the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes generally preserve the third radical yodh. Examples: אִשְׁרָיִהּ (Gen. 2. 15), אִתְּמַלֵּךְ (Gen. 2. 22), אִתְּמַלֵּךְ (Gen. 3. 13), אִתְּמַלֵּךְ (Judg. 1. 7). With אִתְּמַלֵּךְ the ordinary stem is used (אִתְּמַלֵּךְ).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Peal perfects (25. iii. 7, מִתְּמַלֵּךְ = מִתְּמַלֵּךְ), and in perfects of the derived stems (cf. notes 1 and 5).

**3 s. f.** **4.** In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of  $\bar{t}$  perfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to ית before suffixes. Examples: אִתְּמַלֵּךְ, אִתְּמַלֵּךְ (Judg. 4. 19), אִתְּמַלֵּךְ (*Chrest.* 18. 13). In PTM these are also imperative forms (note 7).

**Perf. stems.** **5.** In the other parts of the perfect tenses suffixes are generally added to the unchanged verbal stem. Examples: הִמָּלִיכָהּ (3 s. f.), הִמָּלִיכָהּ (OJ 2 s. m.), הִמָּלִיכָהּ (1 sing.), הִמָּלִיכָהּ (OJ 3 pl. perf. Peal), הִמָּלִיכָהּ (PTM 3 pl.). For הִמָּלִיכָהּ (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

In some supralinear MSS. the ending of the 3 pl. m. pf. Peal with suffixes is written  $\bar{u}$  instead of  $\bar{o}$  (מִתְּמַלֵּךְ, Judg. 1. 8; מִתְּמַלֵּךְ, Judg. 1. 4).

**Impf. stems.** **6.** In all imperf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding נ to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: יִתְּמַלֵּךְ, יִתְּמַלֵּךְ. When אִתְּמַלֵּךְ is used the forms are like that of יִתְּמַלֵּךְ. In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before  $nn$  are  $i$  instead of  $\bar{e}$ , and  $\bar{u}$  instead of  $\bar{o}$  (יִתְּמַלֵּךְ, יִתְּמַלֵּךְ). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.

**Imperat. stems.** 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (אֶחָיִי, חֲזוּהִי). In some MSS.  $\bar{z}$  is written for  $\bar{o}$  and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אֶחָיִינָא, Judg. 1. 24).

In PTM the termination  $\bar{z}$  of the 2 s. m. is treated like a feminine termination (23. ii. 7, אֶתִּיתִיָּה). 2 pl. m. forms are like אֶרְפוּנוֹן (for which in 28. 5 Dalman puts אֶרְפִּינוֹן).

**Participles.** 8. *nn* is used with other suffixed stems than those named above, e. g. with participles (29. 7, מְפַנֵּינִיָּה, i. e. מְפַנֵּינִיָּה).

## § 38. VERBAL SUFFIXES IN OTA

**Suffix forms.** 1. The forms of the verbal suffixes in OTA and the treatment of the stems to which they are attached agree closely with the corresponding features of OJ. The accusative pronoun 'them' is not expressed by a suffix but by some one of three independent pronouns—הֵמוֹ (eight times), הֵמוֹן (three times), and אֵינֵן (Dan. 6. 25). The suffixes attached to verbal stems vary according as the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. In the former case, they are the same as the suffixes joined to nouns, except that נִי is 'me' and that נָא is written for נָא in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: נִי, יָ (2 s. m.), הִי (§ 12), נָא, and כֹּן.

**Perf. stems.** 2. The stems of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. of all perfects are treated as in OJ (see OJ paradigm, p. 90). Examples: חֲתַמָּה, הִשְׁלֵטָה, חֲבָלוֹנִי, הִקְרַבּוֹנִי.

The only examples of other parts of a perfect tense with suffixes are two of the 2 s. m. in Dan. 2. 23 (הִוְרַעַתָּנִי and הִוְרַעַתָּנָא) and one 1 sing of a ל"א verb (note 5).

**Imperf. stems.** 3. Imperfects with suffixes closely resemble those of OJ and PTM (§ 36, note 8). נִי is combined with stems ending in a consonant and נִי with stems ending in a vowel. Exam-

ples: *יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה*, *יִשְׁיֹבְנָה*, *יִתְנַנָּה*. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m. *נָ* is written, without daghesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (*יִשְׁיֹבְנָה*, Dan. 3. 15; *יִשְׁאַלְנָה*, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without *nn* (*יִבְהֹלְהָ*, Dan. 4. 16; *יִבְהֹלֶיךָ*, Dan. 5. 10).

**Imperat. stems.** 4. The only imperatt. with suffixes in OTA are *הֶעֱלָנִי* (Dan. 2. 24), *חִבְּלֵהִי* (Dan. 4. 20), and one from a ל"א verb (note 5). They agree with the forms of OJ (§ 36, note 9).

**ל"א verbs.** 5. There are seven cases in OTA of ל"א verbs with suffixes attached. The PERFECT form *בָּנִיתִהּ* 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27) is peculiar in having *ai* for *ē* (§ 28, note 6) and seghol for vocal shewa. Some MSS. read *בָּנִיתִהּ*. The other cases of perfect stems with suffixes (*בָּנִהִי*, *שָׁנוֹהִי*) agree with the practice of OJ (§ 37, notes 2 and 5).

In the 3 s. m. IMPERFECT before *נ* the *ṣere* of the independent form (*יִחְנֶה*) is replaced by *hireq* (*יִחְנֶה*, *יִחְנֶה*) and in the plural *ō* is replaced by *u* (*יִחְנֶהוּ*, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only ל"א IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphel *הֶחֱיֵנִי* (Dan. 2. 6).

**ע"י verbs.** 6. No change takes place in the stems of ע"י verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

## PARADIGM OF VERB (OJ)

ITAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHP <sup>EL</sup> EL.	APHEL.	PAEL.	P <sup>EL</sup> AL.
אֶתְכַתֵּב	אֶתְכַתֵּב	אֶתְכַתֵּב	אֶכְתֵּב	כָּתַב	כָּתַב
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶכְתֵּבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתָּ
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	אֶכְתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	כָּתַבְתָּהּ - ה	כָּתַבְתָּהּ - ה
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶכְתֵּבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתָּ
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתִּי	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתִּי	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתִּי	אֶכְתֵּבְתִּי	כָּתַבְתִּי	כָּתַבְתִּי
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּם	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּם	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּם	אֶכְתֵּבְתֶּם	כָּתַבְתֶּם	כָּתַבְתֶּם
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	אֶכְתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	כָּתַבְתֶּםּוּ	כָּתַבְתֶּםּוּ
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּ	אֶכְתֵּבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתָּ
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	אֶכְתֵּבְתָּהּ - ה	כָּתַבְתָּהּ - ה	כָּתַבְתָּהּ - ה
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתִּי	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתִּי	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתִּי	אֶכְתֵּבְתִּי	כָּתַבְתִּי	כָּתַבְתִּי
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּם	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּם	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּם	אֶכְתֵּבְתֶּם	כָּתַבְתֶּם	כָּתַבְתֶּם
אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	אֶתְכַתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	אֶכְתֵּבְתֶּםּוּ	כָּתַבְתֶּםּוּ	כָּתַבְתֶּםּוּ

*Imperfects.*

יִכְמוֹד	יִקְרֹב	יִכְמִיב	יִכְתִּיב	יִחַפְּחִיב	יִחַפְּחֶבֶב	יִחַבְּחֶבֶב
תִּכְמוֹד	תִּקְרֹב	תִּכְמִיב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּחַפְּחִיב	תִּחַפְּחֶבֶב	תִּחַבְּחֶבֶב
תִּכְמוֹד	תִּקְרֹב	תִּכְמִיב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּחַפְּחִיב	תִּחַפְּחֶבֶב	תִּחַבְּחֶבֶב
תִּכְתִּיב	תִּקְרִיב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּחַפְּחִיב	תִּחַפְּחֶבֶב	תִּחַבְּחֶבֶב



[illegible][illegible][illegible]

PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

*Perfect.*

APHEL.	PeAL.	APHEL.	PeAL.
3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	PTM
אָרְבִּיפִּינִי	הָרְפִינִי	אָרְבִּיפִּינִי	הָרְפִינִי
אָרְבִּיפִּינֶךָ	הָרְפִינֶךָ	אָרְבִּיפִּינֶךָ	הָרְפִינֶךָ
אָרְבִּיפִּינֵהוּ	הָרְפִינֵהוּ	אָרְבִּיפִּינֵהוּ	הָרְפִינֵהוּ
אָרְבִּיפִּינֵהָ	הָרְפִינֵהָ	אָרְבִּיפִּינֵהָ	הָרְפִינֵהָ
אָרְבִּיפִּינֵנוּ	הָרְפִינֵנוּ	אָרְבִּיפִּינֵנוּ	הָרְפִינֵנוּ
—	—	—	—
אָרְבִּיפִּינֵנוּן	הָרְפִינֵנוּן	אָרְבִּיפִּינֵנוּן	הָרְפִינֵנוּן

*Imperfect.*

3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	PTM	3 sing. m.
יִרְבֵּיפִינִי	יִרְבֵּיפִינִי	יִרְבֵּיפִינִי	יִרְבֵּיפִינִי	יִרְבֵּיפִינִי
יִרְבֵּיפִינֶךָ	יִרְבֵּיפִינֶךָ	יִרְבֵּיפִינֶךָ	יִרְבֵּיפִינֶךָ	יִרְבֵּיפִינֶךָ

יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

2 plur. m.  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ

PTM  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

2 plur. m.  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

2 sing. m.  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ  
אֲהִיפְּנִיחַ

PTM  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

2 sing. m.

יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ  
יְהִיפְּנִיחַ

*Imperative.*

# OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

## *Personal pronouns (nominatives).*

אֲנִי, אֲנִיָּהּ	אֲנִי	1 com.
אַתָּה, אַתָּהּ	אַתָּה (אַתָּה)	2 masc.
—	—	fem.
הוּא, הוּאָהּ	הוּא	3 masc.
הִיא	הִיא	fem.

## *Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.*

that	הוּא, הוּאָהּ, הוּאָהּ	this	הָכֵּה	masc.
	—		הָכֵה	fem.
those	אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּיהֶם	these	אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּיהֶם	
			אֵל (אֵלֶּה)	

## *Inflection of Nouns.*

שְׂמִיָּהּ	חֵיהּ	יוֹם	Singular absolute.
שְׂמִיָּהּ	חֵיהּ	יוֹם	construct.
שְׂמִיָּהּ	חֵיהּ	יוֹם	emphatic.



שֵׂאֵלָן	חֵין	יֻמִּין	Plural	absolute.
שֵׂאֵלָת	חֵית	יֻמִּי		construct.
שֵׂאֵלָתָא	חֵיתָא	יֻמִּיָּא		emphatic.

*Nouns with suffixes.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	
שֵׂאֵלָתִי	חֵיתִי	חֵיתִי	יֻמִּי	יֻמִּי	1 sing.
שֵׂאֵלָתְךָ	חֵיתְךָ	חֵיתְךָ	(יֻמִּיךָ)	יֻמִּיךָ	2 s. m. f.
שֵׂאֵלָתֶּהּ	חֵיתָהּ	חֵיתָהּ	יֻמִּיהָ	יֻמִּיהָ	3 s. m.
שֵׂאֵלָתֶם	חֵיתֶם	חֵיתֶם	(יֻמִּיהָ)	יֻמִּיהָ	f.
שֵׂאֵלָתָם	חֵיתָנָא	חֵיתָנָא	(יֻמִּינָא)	יֻמִּינָא	1 plur.
שֵׂאֵלָתְכֹן	חֵיתְכֹן	חֵיתְכֹן	יֻמִּיכֹן	יֻמִּיכֹן - כֵּם	2 pl. m. f.
שֵׂאֵלָתְהֹן	חֵיתְהֹן	חֵיתְהֹן	יֻמִּיהֹן - הֵם	יֻמִּיהֹן - הֵם	3 pl. m.
שֵׂאֵלָתֵיהֶן	חֵיתֵיהֶן	חֵיתֵיהֶן	יֻמִּיֵּיהֶן	יֻמִּיֵּיהֶן	f.

# OTA PARADIGM OF VERB

Nov

Nov

Nov

f

f

f

f

P<sup>o</sup>AL.

P<sup>o</sup>AL.

P<sup>o</sup>AL.

HAPHEL.

HAPHEL.

HITHP<sup>o</sup>EL.

HITHP<sup>o</sup>AL.

HOPHAL.

Perfect.

3 s. m.  
f.

כָּתַב  
כָּתְבָה

קָרַב  
קָרְבָה

כָּתַב<sup>1</sup>

הִכְתֵּב  
הִכְתְּבָה

הִשְׁכֵּחַ  
הִשְׁכְּחָה

הִשְׁתַּכַּח  
הִשְׁתַּכְּחָה

הִתְכַּחַס  
הִתְכַּחֲסָה

הִנָּחַח  
הִנָּחֲחָה

כָּתַב  
כָּתְבָה

קָרַב  
קָרְבָה

כָּתַב<sup>1</sup>

הִכְתֵּב  
הִכְתְּבָה

הִשְׁכֵּחַ  
הִשְׁכְּחָה

הִשְׁתַּכַּח  
הִשְׁתַּכְּחָה

הִתְכַּחַס  
הִתְכַּחֲסָה

הִנָּחַח  
הִנָּחֲחָה

כָּתַבְתָּ  
כָּתַבְתְּ

קָרַבְתָּ  
קָרַבְתְּ

כָּתַבְתָּ<sup>1</sup>

הִכְתַּבְתָּ  
הִכְתַּבְתְּ

הִשְׁכַּחְתָּ  
הִשְׁכַּחְתְּ

הִשְׁתַּכַּחְתָּ  
הִשְׁתַּכַּחְתְּ

הִתְכַּחַסְתָּ  
הִתְכַּחַסְתְּ

הִנָּחַחְתָּ  
הִנָּחַחְתְּ

f.

1 sing.

כָּתַבְתִּי

קָרַבְתִּי

כָּתַבְתִּי

הִכְתַּבְתִּי

הִשְׁכַּחְתִּי

הִשְׁתַּכַּחְתִּי

הִתְכַּחַסְתִּי

הִנָּחַחְתִּי

3 pl. m.

כָּתְבוּ

קָרְבוּ

כָּתְבוּ

הִכְתְּבוּ

הִשְׁכְּחוּ

הִשְׁתַּכְּחוּ

הִתְכַּחֲסוּ

הִנָּחֲחוּ

f.

כָּתְבָה

קָרְבָה

כָּתְבָה

הִכְתְּבָה

הִשְׁכְּחָה

הִשְׁתַּכְּחָה

הִתְכַּחֲסָה

הִנָּחֲחָה

2 pl. m.

כָּתַבְתֶּם

קָרַבְתֶּם

כָּתַבְתֶּם

הִכְתַּבְתֶּם

הִשְׁכַּחְתֶּם

הִשְׁתַּכַּחְתֶּם

הִתְכַּחַסְתֶּם

הִנָּחַחְתֶּם

f.

כָּתַבְתְּ

קָרַבְתְּ

כָּתַבְתְּ

הִכְתַּבְתְּ

הִשְׁכַּחְתְּ

הִשְׁתַּכַּחְתְּ

הִתְכַּחַסְתְּ

הִנָּחַחְתְּ

1 pl.

כָּתַבְנָא

קָרַבְנָא

כָּתַבְנָא

הִכְתַּבְנָא

הִשְׁכַּחְנָא

הִשְׁתַּכַּחְנָא

הִתְכַּחַסְנָא

הִנָּחַחְנָא

Imperfect.

3 s. m.

יִכְתֹּב

יִקְרַב

יִכְתֹּב<sup>1</sup>

יִהְיֶה

יִשְׁכַּח

יִשְׁתַּכַּח

יִתְכַּחַס

יִנָּחַח

f.

תִּכְתֹּב

תִּקְרַב

תִּכְתֹּב<sup>1</sup>

תִּהְיֶה

תִּשְׁכַּח

תִּשְׁתַּכַּח

תִּתְכַּחַס

תִּנָּחַח

Nov

יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־בֹן	הַשֹּׁפֵחַ	יְהִי־כֹחַ-יְהִי	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	2 s. m. f.
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־בֹן	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	1 sing. <sup>2</sup>
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־בֹן	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	3 pl. m. f.
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־בֹן	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	2 pl. m. f.
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־בֹן	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	1 pl.
<i>Imperative.</i>						
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	2 s. m. f.
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	2 pl. m.
<i>Infinitive.</i>						
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	Ptc. act.
יִתְּכֶם	יְהִי־כֹחַ	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	יִתְּכֶם	Ptc. pass.

<sup>1</sup> See § 16, note 12. <sup>2</sup> See § 18, notes 3 and 4.

# OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

TABLE OF VERBS

ע"ע	ע"י	ל"א	פ"י	פ"י	פ"א	פ"נ	PAL.	
על	קם	פלא	ידע	יחב	אמר	נפק	כתב	Perf.
(יחע)	יקים	יכלא	ינהע	יחב	אמר	[יפק]	כתב	Imperf.
	קים		יע		אמר	פק	כתב	Imperat.
(מח)		מכלא			מאמר	[מפק]	מכתב	Infin.
	קאם	פלעא	ידע		אמר	נפק	כתב	Ptc. act.
	(רם)	פלעא					כתב	Ptc. pass.
HAPHEL.								
הפק	המים	השני	הודע	החב	הודר		הכתב	Perf.
הפק	יקים	יהשנא	יהודע				יהכתב	Imperf.
הפק							הכתב	Imperat.
הפקה	הקמה	השניה	הודעה		הודרה	העלה	הכתבה	Infin.
מהפק	מהקים	מהשנא					מהכתב	Ptc. act.
מהפק	(מהנה)					מאל	מכתב	Ptc. pass.
							מהכתב	Ptc. pass.







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